Maratha Policy towards the States of Northern India (Delhi to Bengal) During the 18th Century

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ABSTRACT

The Maratha played a dominant role in the history of India during the 18th century. The northern advance and expansion of the Maratha power has been studied by a number of eminent scholars but an analysis of the Maratha policy towards the States of Northern India, Delhi to Bengal, during the 18th century has not been taken up by the scholars so far. The present Thesis is an attempt to fill this obvious void in our studies of this important aspect of the history of India.

Chapter I deals with the genesis and the initial evolutionary stage of the Maratha policy towards the states of northern India during the Peshwaships of Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao I.

The appointment of Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa on 17th November, [illegible] led to the increasing importance of the office of Peshwa, corresponding to the gradual effacement of the sublime office of Chhatrapati. This overshadowing of the position of the King became more effective following the death of Shahu.

Balaji Vishwanath's illustrious son, Bajirao I was destined to become the real founder of the Maratha Empire. During 1740 the forward policy of the Marathas was formulated

and perfected and the aims of Maratha policy towards the states of Northern India were crystallized and well defined.

My conclusions are that Bajirao I gave a definite sense of direction to the Maratha state. His objectives comprised the acquisition of Supremacy in the south and paramountry in the North. He was neither anti-Muslim nor anti-Mughal. He observed due regard to the solemn promise of Shahu to Aurangzeb to support and strengthen the Mughal Empire and not to weaken and supplant it.

Chapter II discusses the stresses and strains in the first phase, 1740-49 of the Maratha policy towards the North under Peshwa Balajirao. It comes to an end with the death of Shahu in 1749. In this phase Balajirao had to secure Imperial confirmation of the territorial gains and claims of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* granted during his father's regime. The consolidation of Bajirao's conquests and regularisation of the rights which accrued already was the immediate concern of this Peshwa.

In Chapter III the second phase of Balajirao's northern policy is dealt with in necessary details. This phase, 1749-1761, is momentous because it witnessed the climax of Bajirao's dreams of ascendancy from Maharashtra to Attock and the triumph of the Maratha arms and diplomacy in all directions. Yet it also lays here the inherent weaknesses, contradictions and anomalies of the Maratha political administrative, military and economic systems to sustain their power and imperial adventure in the north.

But the highest point scored by the Peshwa Balajirao during this phase consisted of 'defensive subsidiary treaty of April 12, 1752 to save the Empire from the recurring invasions and annexations of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Chapter IV has been devoted enclusively to the Maratha policy in Bengal. It has been given a separate treatment because in pursueance of a master-stroke of Maratha policy the two towering personalities Bajirao I and Raghoji Bhosle were assigned different spheres of activities the former in the north and the latter in eastern India by Raja Shahu.

Chapter V gives the essential elements of the Maratha policy under that great and glorious Peshwa, Madhavrao I, 1761-1772, who has been rightly called the "greatest of the Peshwas" by G.S. Sardesai.

He possessed astonishing capacity to lead the nation out of the catastrophe of 1761 and recovered the prestige lost at Panipat. At the time of his investiture the Maratha hold on Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Doab, the Jat country and Bundelkhand was all cast off. But during the short span of his Peshwaship the Maratha prestige was retrieved, the Maratha arms regained their lustre and poten tialities of triumph and invincibility, the turbulent elements were suppressed and, at home, the various Sardars were brought down from defiance or internecine conflicts to constructive fields. Even Raghunath Rao, the ambitious uncle of the Peshwa, was silenced and made serviceable.

Chapter VI deals with the period of crisis and turmoil, 1772-1782 when the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao; plotted by his grand-uncle Raghunath Rao upset the tempo of Maratha affairs at home and in the north.

This self-seeking, ambitious and intriguing man threw the Peshwa's house in disorder. He assumed Peshwaship for a short span of time and then was ousted by the Council of Regency appointed to hold power during the minority of Narayan Rao's baby son, Madhavrao Narayan. He sough British help and became the precursor and the cause of the First Anglo-Maratha War.

Chapter VII brings out the significance and the anal analysis of the new Maratha policy under Mahadji Sindia It was the highest achievement of the Maratha ambitious towards the states of northern India. The dreams of the first four great Peshwas came to be true by the efforts of that towering personality.

Under Mahadji Sindia the Maratha policy in the North attained the realisation of its ideals, the culmination of that age-long endeavour in terms of its avowed objective of reaching the farthest point towards expansion and consolidation in the North with the willing cooperation and legitimisation of authority by the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II.

In Chapter VIII discusses the last phase of the Maratha policy and domination in northern India, particularly in relation to the English, the second Anglo-Maratha War and makes an analysis of the causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha power in the north. It does not make a simple re-statement of the oft-quoted causes of the downfall of the Marathas but also points out the real factors responsible to loss of Maratha domination inthe North.

The chapter closes with the conclusion of the Treaty of Sarji Anjangaon on December 30, 1803 because it signified the end of the Maratha domination in the North as well as the death-knell of the Mughal Empire.

PREFACE

For this work I am grateful to Professor S. Nurul Hasan who assigned me this very interesting topic for research and inspired me to carry on research on the broad lines suggested by him.

I am also grateful to Professor K.A. Nizami, Head of the Department of History, for his keen interest in the completion of my work and my welfare.

I must express my grateful appreciation for the devotion and affection shown by my Supervisor, Dr. Zameeruddin Siddiqi in the preparation, supervision and correction of my thesis. My most sincere and heartful gratitudes are due to him for the pains he has taken while leading me through all the phases of production of this work. Without his guidance and energetic labour this work would not have been completed in such a short time.

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I must affectionately thank my father, Jagdish Saran Goel and mother for giving me inspiration through the stresses and strains of my research work during the entire period of my absence from them.

I am very grateful to Dr. M.P. Singh, Lecturer, History Department, who helped me in picking up the Marathi language and Dr. S.P. Varma, Lecturer, History Department, Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh who assisted me during all the phases of this work.

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In the end, I convey my heartly thanks to all those who assisted me at various stages of my work.

Last but not the least, I may mention the encouragement and inspiration I received from my husband, Mr. Shalendra Sagar in the difficult and concluding stage of this work. I may also mention with tender affection my seven months' old baby, daughter, Sipi who bore the separation from the mother's arm during the last two months when I left her with my mother at Chandausi during the last stage of preparation and submission of this thesis.

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CONTENTS

Page No.

Preface:

Introduction I - XXIX

CHAPTERS:

I - THE GENESIS OF THE MARATHA POLICY TOWARDS THE NORTH AND THE PESHWASHIPS OF BALAJI VISHWANATH AND BAJIRAO I. .. 1-63

II - THE MARATHA POLICY UNDER BALAJI BAJIRAO - THE FIRST PHASE,1740-1749 - STRESSES AND STRAINS. .. 70-96

III - THE MARATHA POLICY UNDER BALAJI BAJIRAO, 1749-1761 : FULFILMENT AND SET-BACK. .. 97-206

IV - THE MARATHA POLICY TOWARDS BENGAL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. 207 - 247

V - THE MARATHA POLICY IN THE NORTH 1761 - 1772. PESHWA MADHAV RAO I - ECLIPSE AND RESURGENCE .248 - 326

VI - THE PERIOD OF CRISIS AND TURMOIL, 1772 - [illegible]. THE MARATHA POLICY IN DOLDRUMS. ..327-364

VII - THE MARATHA POLICY IN [illegible]S: THE DIRECTION OF THE MARATHA POLICY: [illegible] AND THE [illegible] PATH OF THE MARATHA [illegible] IN THE NORTH. .. 365-452

VIII - THE LAST PHASE: DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MARATHA POWER AND INFLUENCE IN THE NORTH. .. 453-510

BIBLIOGRAPHY: .. 511-538

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INTRODUCTION

Maharashtra has been a land of many charms, endowed by nature and embellished by men. It consisted of the belt of land lying east of the western Ghats and forming the Nasik, Puna and Satara districts parts of Ahmadnagar and Sholapur and the western corner of Aurangabad as well as the strip of land between the Ghats and the Indian Ocean, called Konkan (between Bombay and Goa) and Kanara (south of Goa) and including the Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts within its periphery. The deep winding and rugged valleys, rolling streams, evergreen forests, rice fields on its hills, mango-groves, plantain orchards and coconut-palms mark the beauty of the region.

Maharashtra has ever been populated by the heroic people of a mixed Dravidian-Aryan race living in their spartan simplicity. These laborious, liberty-loving, self-reliant, courageous people had developed a sense of social equality and dignity of mankind. Their life was not of self indulgence, luxury, ease and comfort but of arduous work, simple habits and self-complacency.

The glorious past of the Maratha people is linked up with the rise and fall of the Satvahans, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas until reduced by Alauddin

Khalji in 1294. The long span of Turkish and Mughal rule was broken by the great adventurer and constructive genius, known as Shivaji who acquired self-rule for the Maratha people in their homeland by unifying the scattered segments of castes and tribes into a harmonious society and conferring political unity, cohesion, solidarity and strength to it and welding the diverse elements into a national State. In fact, social and cultural unity was already gaining strength in the 17th century by the remarkable community of language, creed and life in Marashtra and was forged by natural and geographical factors as well as by the growth of Marathi language and the Manabhau sect and the contributions of Chakradhar and Hemadri.

Shivaji was the moving spirit of the greatness of the Maratha movement. He was not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but also the greatest constructive genius of mediaeval India. States fall, empires break up, dynasties become extinct, but the memory of a true 'hero as King' like Shivaji, remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race,

The pillar of a people's hope, The Centre of a world's desire, to animate the heart, to kindle the imagination and to inspire the brain of succeeding ages to the highest endeavours."[1]

"It is no exaggeration to say that he is the Creator of the Maratha nation, or as Sir Jadunath has aptly put it," "the last constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced. He called the Maratha race to a new life. He raised the Marathas into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies, they can conduct their own defence, porotect and promote literature and art, commerce, industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, that it can put forth new

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1. Jadunath Sarkar at the Shivaji Birthday Celebration in Madras,in 1928 as quoted in *New History of the* Marathas, Vol. I, Sardesai, G.S., pp. 297-98.

leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies."[1]

There can be no better and more forceful interpretation of the Maratha Movement heralded by Shivaji and spear head by the Peshwas than the one given above by the great historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

The spirit bequeathed by Shivaji inspired the ideals of the Peshwas in the heyday of the glory of the Maratha Empire. They carried on Shivaji's work in larger fields and tried 'to accomplish the ideal of Shivaji as much as possible, in the altered conditions of their position."[2]

Shahu's release from the Mughal Camp on May 8,1707 led to a struggle between him and his aunt Tarabai for four years at the end of which she and her son were taken prisoners by Sambhaji, the second son of Rajaram who entered into a peace treaty with Shahu. The Maratha Kingdom, hardly consisting of two modern districts of Satara and Poona, was divided along the river Krishna, north of the river was taken by Shahu and south of it was given to Sambhaji. The area which fell to the share of Shahu was quite insignificant. Southern expansion was barred to him but the northern region was open to him for expansion of territory and influence. So the Maratha Kingdom under Shahu extended towards the north under his able Peshwas.

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[1] Jadunath Sarkar as quoted by Sardesai, G.S. in *New History of the Marathas,* Vol.I, p. 299.

[2] *The Main Currents of Maratha History* by Sardesai, G.S.

This northern advance and the expansion and consolidation of the Maratha power has been studied by a number of eminent scholars. Some of the important works produced to date which deal with Maratha history and their northern expansion include the '*Fall of the Mughal*' in four volumes by Jadunath Sarkar '*New History of the Marathas*'(three volumes), Sardeasi, G.S. and '*The Main Currents of Maratha History* by the same author, *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion* by Dighe, V.G., *Peshwa Bajirao I* by Srinivasan, C.K., *Peshwa Madhav Rao I* by Banerjee, A.C., *Life of Malhar Rao Holkar* by Barne, *Bajirao II and the East India Company* by Gupta, P.C., *Clash of Three Empires* by Joshi, V.V., *Rise of the Maratha Power* by Ranade, M.G., *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-40*, *Malwa in Transition* by Raghubir Singh, *The Maratha Supremacy* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol. VIII) edited by R.C. Majumdar, *Maratha History Seminar* (Kolhapur, 1971), *Madhava Rao Sindhia* by

Keene, H.G and many other works. But in spite of this profuse historical activity on the analysis and composition regarding the various periods, personalities and phases of Maratha history, there has been a dearth of a systematic and scientific study of the Maratha policy towards the states of northern India during the 18th century which constitutes the most significant period of the rise, growth and decline of the Maratha imperial adventure in the North.

This thesis is an attempt to fill in this lacuna in our studies of the Maratha history. The gradual process of the evolution of this policy its phases, shades and pitfalls, the factors militating against the Maratha advance towards the North, the stresses and strains at the Maratha central authority at Poona and its impact on the Maratha fortunes in the North, the weaknesses, instability and laxity of political and administrative arrangements in that region as well as the causes of the decline of the Maratha power in the North fell within the purview of this work and have been studied in necessary details, analysed with attention to scientific methodology and in their true perspective.

My method is to analyse the different phases of the Maratha policy, embodied in separate chapters and make a short resume at the beginning of each chapter, thereby setting out the ingrediants and essential features of the Maratha policy towards the northern states in that particular phase and support and elaborate upon my analysis with reference to facts. Of course the narration of facts to substantiate the essential elements, the modus operandi, the casus belli the inexorable laws of change in the face of lay brinth of complex situations as well as the ideological sustenance to streeks of policy, has been given in elaboration and elucidation.

The thesis has been, divided into eight chapters. It comprises the genesis, evolution, growth and fulfilment of the Maratha policy towards the northern states from Shahu's release in May, 1707 to the Treaty of Surji Anjangaon between the English East India Company and Daulat Rao Sindia in September 1803 when the northern possessions of Sindia including the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Agra together the person of Emperor Shah Alam II passed into the control of the English, and the Mughal Empire virtually ended.

Chapter I deals with the genesis and the initial evolutionary stage of the Maratha policy towards the states of northern India during the Peshwaships of Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao I.

The appointment of Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa on 17th November, 1713 led to the increasing importance of the office of Peshwa, corresponding to the gradual effacement of the sublime office of Chhatrapati. This overshadowing of the position of the King became more effective following the death of Shahu.

The chief contribution of the first Peshwa was to harness the resources of the Maratha Kingdom under Shahu to further the cause of the Chhatrapati, to pool the fighting material of the various turbulent Maratha hands in an endeavour to extent the political and financial control of the Marathas in the regions lying north to the Kingdom. He gave a sense of direction to several Maratha hands roving and ravaging such distant parts as Malwa, Gujarat and Berar. Maratha leaders such as Kanhoji Angre of Colaba, Kanhoji Bhosle, Khanderao Dabhade and Chanderasen Jadhav were befriended, their energies pooled together and utilised for the national adventure of making thrusts into the north. Balaji's opportunity came when the powerful Sayyad Brothers, Hasan Ali and Husain, under Farrukhsiyar appealed to Shahu for help. Balaji at once grasped it and a diversion for expansion of Maratha power to the distant quarters of India in the North was opened up with immense probablities of enrichment and expansion in that region.

Balaji brought from Delhi the security of Shivaji's *swarajya* as well as the *sanads* of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from all, the six Mughal *subahs* in the south. This became the genesis of Maratha intervention in the Imperial affairs and ever-increasing Maratha claims on the Empire including the northern regions. Balaji had no option but to look to the north. Indeed "he also evinced rare foresight and statesmanship in utilising all available resources towards completing the task of constructing a Hindu empire, which the great Shivaji had set before himself."[1]

Balaji Vishwanath's illustrious son, Bajirao I was destined to become the real founder of the Maratha Empire. The aims and ideals inspiring his endeavours are a subject of controversy. During his twenty years' Peshwaship, 1720-1740 the formed policy of the Marathas was formulated and perfected and the aims of Maratha policy towards the States of Northern India were crystallized and well-defined. He idealised and framed in candid terms his policy of accomplishing the great object of building up a Hindu empire and styled it as 'Hindu Pad Padshahi'. What were the cardinal points of his policy? What were the limitations of his policy when he suggested to Chhatrapati Shahu in the words. "Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree. The branches will fell off themselves. Thus should the Maratha flag fly from the Krishna to the Indus."

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[1] *Main Currents of Maratha History*, Sardesai, G.S., p. 93.

Was Bajirao I a visionary idealist or a practical politician? Was he anti-Mughal or anti-Muslim? Did he really aim at supplanting the Mughal Empire and replacing it, by Chhatrapatis Empire or did he totally ignored Shahu's vow and instructions to come to the rescue of the Mughal Empire in its time of need or adversity? These are all questions which are pertinent to a study of Bajirao's aims and ideals in his northern policy.

Satish Chandra has brushed aside his astensible expositions of country-wide domination as impracticable and only a politicians hyperbole commenting on Bajirao's objectives he writes:

"Thus the establishment of Maratha domination in Malwa and Gujarat was the first step to the establishment of a large and powerful Maratha Empire. It seems historically inaccurate to think that Bajirao set himself any tasks beyond this. His peroration about the planting of the Maratha flag on the Attock was only a politicions hyperbole. The task was clearly beyond Maratha strength for a long time to come, and Baji Rao was too much of a practical statesman to set before himself any such impossible objectives."[1]

He supports his contention with the account of Chitnis regarding the prolonged controversy at the Maratha Court between Baji Rao and the Pratinidhi shripat Rao.[2]

On the other hand, Sardesai dismisses this controversy as 'probably a myth.'[3]

My conclusions are that Bajirao I gave a definite sense of direction to the Maratha state. His objectives comprised the acquisition of supremacy in the south and paramountcy in the north.' He was neither anti-Muslim nor anti-Mughal. He observed due regard to the solemn promise of Shahu to Aurangzeb to support and strength the Mughal Empire and not to weaken and supplant it. Had he wished to supplant the Mughal Empire, he would have carried into

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1. Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740, Satish Chandra, p. 192.

2. Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740, Satish Chandra, pp. 190-91.

3. The Main Currents of Maratha History, Sardesai, G.S., pp. 90-91.

effect his lightning dash to the vicinity of Delhi in 1737. He sought the sympathies of the Rajput Chiefs and also Hindu landlords in Malwa and Gujarat to facilitate his conquests and exactions and wished to free Prayag and Kashi from the Muslim hold as these were holy places of Hindu pilgrimage.

In fact Bajirao I fully supported Shahu's objective of defending the Empire against internal subversion and external invasion but under the protecting and guiding care of the Peshwa who would be the Emperor's friend and mentor and would acquire control over imperial policy. So his main principle of policy vis-a-vis the North was the acquisition of political hegemony in the north,[1] not to supplant but to safeguard the Empire. Domination over Malwa and Gujarat was obtained to replenish the depleted Maratha resources and it was essential for maintaining a mighty military machine of the type that he needed and kept. Moreover the domination over Malwa was essential to Bajirao's northern policy for political, financial and strategic reasons. Malwa commanded the route connecting the north with the south. Domination over Malwa was inevitable if Bajirao wished to control the six *subahs* of Deccan. The prosperity of Malwa too made it important.[1]

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[1] *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, V.G. Dighe, p. 204; *India in the Eighteenth Century*, Ishwari Prasad, p. 31.

As regards the concept of Hindu pad Padshahi, Sardesai has aptly remarked, "The dream of Hindupad Padshahi was not territorial ambition but mainly limited to the religious field."[2]

Chapter II discusses the stresses and strains in the first phase, 1740-49 of the Maratha policy towards the North under Peshwa Balajirao. It comes to an end with the death of Shahu in 1749.

In this phase Balajirao had to secure Imperial confirmation of the territorial gains and claims of _chauth_ and _sardeshmukhi_ granted during his father's regime. The consolidation of Bajirao's conquests and regularisation of the rights which accrued already was the immediate concern of this Peshwa.

His tenure of Peshwaship can be broadly categorised in two periods, 1740-1749 when Chhatrapati Shahu exercised measure of control to guide the destinies of the Marathas State. In this period the Peshwa too went out on military expeditions. This forms the theme of Chapter II.

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[1] _Malwa in Transition_, Raghubir Singh, p.

[2] _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. II, Sardesai, G.S., p. [illegible]

The second period of his Peshwaship extends from Shahu's death in 1749 to 1761 when after the deback of Panipat the Peshwa, diseased and enfeebled as he was, succumbed to the titanic shock of that disaster. During this period the Peshwa exercised unbriddled authority over the direction of State affairs and he did not lead any expedition personally but through his lietenants and Sardars. That is the theme of Chapter III.

During the first phase, 1740-49 the Maratha policy suffered from a number of drawbacks. The policy was half-hearted, weak and vacillating as it was guided and shaped under considerable influence of Shahu. It did not aim at or result in outright conquests and annexations. It shirked responsibilities. It did maintain equilibrium between power and corresponding responsibility. The outcome was that the Maratha policy lacked will, stability and coherence.

In Chapter III the second phase of Balajirao's northern policy is dealt with in necessary details. This phase, 1749-1761, is momentous because it witnessed the climax of Bajirao's dreams of ascendency from Maharashtra to Attock and the triumphof the Maratha arms and diplomacy in all directions. Yet it also lays here the inherent weaknesses, contradictions and anomalies of the Maratha political, administrative, military and economic systems to sustain their power and imperial adventure in the north. It also exposes the factors which militated against the triumph of the Marathas against Ahmad Shah Abdali at the Battle of Panipat in 1761. It is an irony of fate that the ascendant Maratha power should have met a debacle of the dimensions of Panipat during the same Peshwaship. But it is wrong to suppose that "The battle fought at Panipat in January 1761, sealed the fate of Maratha supremacy in India."[1]

But the highest point scored by the Peshwa Balajirao during this phase consisted of the 'defensive subsidiary treaty of April 12, 1752 to save the Empire from the recurring invasions and annexations of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It was the handiwork of Safdar Jang, the Wazir of the Mughal Empire. "The Marathas gained fro m the Emperor the chauth of the Punjab, Sind and Doab, in addition to the Subahdari of Ajmer and Agra, in exchange the Marathas agreed to protect the

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[1] Rise of the Christian Power in India, B.D. Basu, p.210.

Emperor against external enemies and recalcitrant subjects.[1]

Chapter IV has been devoted exclusively to the Maratha policy in Bengal. It has been given a separate treatment because in pursuance of a master-stroke of Maratha policy the two towering personalities Bajirao I and Raghoji Bhosle were assigned different spheres of activities - the former in the north and the latter in eastern India by Raja Shahu. The words of the Chhatrapati embodied in the document assigning Eastern India as the sphere of activity of Raghoji Bhosle in 1738 was vague and this led to overlapping of spheres and conflict between the former and Balajirao. This conflict facilitated the realisation of British ambitions and from Plassey, 1757 Bengal passed into the British control.

Chapter V gives the essential elements of the Maratha policy under that great and glorious Peshwa, Madhavrao I, 1761-1772, who has been rightly called the "greatest of the Peshwas" by G.S. Sardesai.

He possessed astonishing capacity to lead the nation out of the catastrophe of 1761 and recovered the prestige lost at Panipat. At the time of his investiture the Maratha hold on Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Doab, the Jat country and Bundelkhand was all cast off. But during the short span of his Peshwaship the Maratha prestige was retrieved, the Maratha arms regained their lustre and potentialities of triumph and invicibility, the turbulent elements were suppressed and, at home, the various sardars were brought down from defiance or internecine conflicts to constructive fields. Even Raghunath Rao, the ambitious uncle of the Peshwa, was silenced and made serviceable.

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[1] *The Maratha Supremacy*, edited by R.C. Majumdar; '*The Wizarat of Safdar Jang*', Zameeruddin Siddiqi, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1967, pp. 191-208; *The Mughal-Maratha Treaty of April, 1752*, Dharma Bhanu, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, pp. 245-62.

During his regime Panipat was forgotten and Maratha supremacy in the North was resurrected and firmly established But the tragic and untimely death of the young Peshwa cast a spell of gloom in Maharashtra. It was a greater disaster than the debacle of Panipat.

In Chapter VI deals with the period of crisis and turmoil, 1772-1782 when the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao, plotted by his grand Uncle Raghunath Rao upset the tempo of Maratha affairs at home and in the north.

This self-seeking, ambitious and intriguing man threw the Peshwa's house in disorder. He assumed Peshwaship for a short span of time and then was ousted by the Council Regency appointed to hold power during the minority of

Narayan Rao's baby son, Madhavrao Narayan. He sought British help and became the precursor and the cause of the First Anglo-Maratha War.

There is substance of truth in the remark of B.D. Basu given below:

> "In Maratha History there are two central figures around which are to be traced the rise and decline of the Maratha Empire. The valor and genius of Shivaji laid the foundation of the Empire, the imprudence and intrigue of Raghunath Rao precipitated its fall. The latter was instrumental in bringing the Marathas into conflict with the Afghans, which resulted in the battle of Panipat; and later still with the English which ended in the break-up of the great Shivaji's Empire."[1]

Chapter VII brings out the significance and the analysis of the new Maratha policy under Mahadji Sindia. It was the highest achievement of the Maratha ambitions towards the states of northern India. The dreams of the first four great Peshwas came to be true by the efforts of that towering personality.

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[1] Rise of the Christian Power in India, p. 209.

Under Mahadji Sindia the Maratha policy in the North attained the realisation of its ideals, the culmination of that age-long endeavour in terms of its avowed objective of reaching the farthest point towards expansion and consolidation in the North with the willing cooperation and legitimisation of authority bynthe Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. Factors favouring the rise to supreme power and sublime status by Mahadji are examined and his greatness is revealed in historical perspective. The aims, ideals, achievements and failures of the Maratha policy towards the states of the North during this period have been highlighted in this Chapter.

"Mahadji lived to establish one of the most powerful and lasting native monarchies of Hindostan."[1]

According to John Malcolm Mahadji Sindia was 'the nominal slave but rigid master of the unfortunate Shah Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, the pretended friend, but the designing rival of the house of Holkar, the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppresser of the Rajput princes of Central India; and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer of the family of the Peshwa.'[2]

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1. The Native States of India, G.B. Malleson, p. 128.
2. As quoted in Native States of India, G.B. Malleson, p. 130.

Chapter VIII discusses the last phase of the Maratha policy and domination in northern India, particularly in relation to the English, the Second Anglo-Maratha War and makes an analysis of the causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha power in the north. It does not make a simple re-statement of the oft-quoted causes of the downfall of the Marathas but also points out the real factors responsible to loss of Maratha domination in the North.

The Chapter closes with the conclusion of the Treaty of Sarji Anjangaon on December 30, 1803 because it signified the end of the Maratha domination in the North as well as the death-knell of the Mughal Empire.

Evaluation Of Source Material:

The period under review is so rich in source material that it is not possible to fully describe and evaluate each source separately.

Historians have already discussed the importance of many of the general and special source books and collections of documents but their utility in regard to the Maratha policy towards the states of Northern India, Delhi to Bengal, during the 18th century has got to be looked to afresh. I have utilised several sources, scarcely referred to by scholars of Maratha history.

A brief evaluation of the most important sources, chiefly Marathi is given below:

Marathi, English and Persian sources have been utilised in preparation of this work. This thesis is mainly based on Marathi sources such as volumes of *Hingne Daftar*, *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, *Historical Papers of the Sindhias of Gwalior*, *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, *Nana Phadnis Yanche Shahdant Panipatcha Rangangram*, and *Selections From Peshwa Daftar and Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen.*

The thesis is mainly based on the letters and despatches collected in the two Volumes of Hingne Daftar which have been edited by Prof. G.H. Khare. These letters are mainly written by Hingnes who were the Peshwa's agent at the Delhi Court. They had seen the incidents and described them through letters so their correspondence is more reliable than that of others.

Another important source consists of the two volumes of *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen and a Supplementary* volume edited by D.B. Parasnis. They have been published in

Itihasa Sangraha and are available in Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandala Poona. These volumes cover the period from 1780-1794 A.D. They contain the letters and despatches sent by different Maratha officers in the north and provide an insight into the nature of the political situation that arose in northern India during the Regency of Mahadji Sindia. These volumes also throw light on the incidents leading to the appointment of Mahadji Sindia to the post of Regent with the titles of Mir Bakhshi and Vakil-i Mutlaq and the problems which Mahadji had to face on account of his appointment to these posts.

The other important source is the First and the third volume of Selections From Peshwa Daftar, New Series, entitled as *Revival of the Maratha Power from 1707 to 1761* and the *Expansion of the Maratha Power from 1761 to 1772*. These Volumes have been edited by P.M. Joshi and published by the Government Central Press, Bombay. The period which has been covered by these two volumes is a very important period in the Maratha History. The rare letters collected in these volumes give us the new information about the revival of Maratha power during the period of the three Peshwas, Balaji Vishwanath, Baji Rao and Balaji Bajirao and about the events leading to the Battle of Panipat, as well as the set back suffered by the Marathas in Northern India after the Battle of Panipat and the recovery of the Maratha possessions during the Peshwaship of Madhavrao.

The Two Volumes of *Historical Papers of Sindhias of Gwalior* are also important source in Marathi. The First volume has been edited by D.B. Diskalkar and published by the Satara Historical Research Society. It deals with the period from 1774 A.D. to 1794 A.D. The Second volume has been edited by G.S. Sardesai and published by Satara Historical Society and covers the period from 1777 A.D. to 1793 A.D. The despatches colleced in these Volumes give a new light to the incidents which had taken place in the development of Maratha politics in northern India after the death of Peshwa Narayan Rao and during the Regency of Mahadji Sindia. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia* edited by G.S. Sardesai also contains important letters relating to Mahadji Sindia and the problems which he had to face in northern India and his achievements. An attempt has been made here to compare and corelate these letters and point out differences or contradictions wherever found in the data supplied by them.

The two volumes of *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhanen* have been eidted by B.B. Thakur. They provide a detailed information about the reaction of Holkars to the growing power of Mahadji Sindhia and the disputes which arose between Sindhia and Holkar.

The fifteen volumes of *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* edited by V.V. Khare are also important Marathi sources. They give the information about the day to day developments of Maratha politics in the court of Poona and in northern India till the period of Daulat Rao Sindia.

The present work is mainly based on the papers and despatches from *Selections From Peshwa Daftar* edited by G.S. Sardesai. The period covered by these letters is from 1707 A.D. to 1772 A.D. These letters give detailed information about the policy of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao, Balaji Bajirao and Madhavrao towards north Indian powers and the activities of the different Maratha Sardars in various parts of northern India. Though these letters do not provide any chain about various problems but they largely contribute to our understanding of several incidents and transactions and a revision of our former judgements on many points.

Another important source is *Nana Phadni's Yancha Shabdant Panipacha Ransangram* edited by P.M. Limaye. It gives a vivid picture about the events leading to the Battle of Panipat, description of the Battle of Panipat and its after math.

Other important Marathi sources used for the completion of this work are the Volumes of Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Selections From Satara Rajas and Peshwa's Diaries and Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh. These books help us in bearing the Maratha influence in the different parts of northern India.

Among the English sources the main used by me are the First, Second, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth and ninth Volumes of English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence. The First Volume of English Records of Maratha History Poona Residency Correspondence deals mainly with Mahadji Sindia and North Indianaffairs and covers the period from 1785 to 1794 A.D. It hasbeen edited by Jadunath Sarkar and published by Government Central Press, Bombay. The despatches in this Volume were sent by the British Residents at the Poona Court to the Governor-General and other British officers. They give the first hand information about the problems of Mahadji Sindia in the north, his relations with the different powers of northern India, the policy adopted by Mahadji towards the various powers in northern India. The second volume of English Records of Maratha History Poona Residency Correspondence has been edited by G.S. Sardesai. It contains the despatches of Malet, a British Regent at the Court of Poona, and covers the period from 1786 A.D. to 1797 AD

It mainly deals with the developments, which were taking place at the Poona Court, about the politics at the Poona Court, the problems of succession to the post of Peshwa after the death of Peshwa Narayan Rao and its effects on the north Indian affairs. It gives the most reliable information about the affairs at the Poona Court.

The Sixth Volume of *English Records of Maratha History* has been edited by G.S. Sardesai. It covers the despatches sent by Palmer during his Regency at Poona Court after the death of Peshwa Madhavrao Narayan and its effects on the north Indian policy of the Marathas have been clearly dealt with in this work.

The Seventh Volume of *English Records of Maratha History*, *Poona Residency Correspondence* has been edited by G.S. Sardesai and contains the correspondence of close,the British Resident at the Court Of Poona, with the Governor-General and other British officers. It deals with the period from 1801 A.D. to 1810 A.D. and describes in details the court politics at Poona, its effects on the Maratha affairs of northern India and the process of decline of the Maratha power.

The eight volume of *English Records of Maratha History Poona Residency Correspondence* has been edited by Jadunath Sarkar and deals with the north Indian affairs of Daulat Rao Sindia during the period 1794 A.D. to 1800 A.D. It gives the first hand information about the set back suffered by the Maratha affairs in Northern India due to the death of Mahadji Sindia and the appearnance of Daulat Rao Sindhia on the political scene who was so much involved in Poona court politics that he could not pay his attention towards the Maratha affirs in the north. The activities of the different Maratha Sardars in the north have been clearly dealt with in this volume.

The nineth volume of *Poona Residency Correspondence* covers the despatches sent by Collins, the British Resident at Poona Court, to the Governor-General. It describes in details the rivalry between the different officers of Sindia in the north and the possibility of a revolution in Sindia's Government,

The fourteenth Volume of *English Records of Maratha History*, *Poona Residency Correspondence* has been edited by Jadunath Sarkar. It contains the despatches sent by the British Residents at the Poona Court to the Governor-General and others British officers. It mainly deals with Daulat Rao Sindia and north Indian affairs during the period 1810-1818 A.D.

All these Volumes are preserved in National Archives of India, New Delhi and give us the first-rate and reliable information about the British reaction to the North Indian policy of the Marathas.

The other important English sources used by me are the letters and despatches comprised in *Imperial Record* Departments's *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. The volumes used for this thesis are the ones from the First to the eleventh volume which cover the period from 1767 A.D. to 1795 A.D. These volumes contain the correspondence of the different powers of north India and are important source to give the detailed information of the day to day developments in north Indian politics during the period.

The other important English source here used is the *Browne Correspondence*, whichcontains the despatches sent to Governor-General by Major James Browne who was appointed by Warren Hastings as his personal agent at the court of Emperor Shah Alam at Delhi from 1782 A.D. 1784 A.D. It supplies the first hand data about the affairs of the Emperor Shah Alam and his Court at Delhi and the appointment of Mahadji Sindia as the Regent of the Emperor Shah Alam. James Browne was the eye-witness so the information given by him in these despatches is most reliable.

The other English sources here used are the *Selections From State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department* (1772 - 1785), Vol. II, *Press List of Records Belonging to the Foreign Department*, *Government of India*, Series I, *Select Committee, 1756-1774*, *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee Foreign Department Secret Proceedings*. *Foreign Department, Political Proceedings and the Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*. All these records are preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Among the Persian Sources the more important ones used by me are *Seir Mutaqherin*, *Ibrat Nama* and *Shah Alam Nama*. Numerous secondary sources have also been used at different places. All these Marathi, English and Persian works have been utilised to make the present work as useful broadly based and well-documented as possible.

CHAPTER - I

THE GENESIS OF THE MARATHA POLICY TOWARDS THE NORTH AND THE PESHWASHIPS OF BALAJI VISHWANATH AND BAJI RAO I.

The eighteenth century in India constitutes a very important period which represents the transition in which the Mughal Empire was fast decaying and new forces and powers were making their appearance in a bid to establish their ascendancy in different regions of India. The Marathas were a rising power in the arena of this struggle for ascendancy. The Maratha endeavour under the able leadership of Shivaji, who combined the military genius, organising capacity, love of independence and a will to assert the national regeneration of the Maratha people, was directed towards the genuine fulfilment of this end. Under the Peshwas the Marathas attempted to expand beyond the regions of Maharashtra in all directions southwards and northwards. The weakness and the faction-fight at the Mughal Court encouraged fissiparious tendencies in the various provinces of India. This provided a welcome opportunity to the Maratha ambition to strike at the root of the Mughal Empire and to denude it of some of its fairest and richest provinces like Malwa and Gujarat with a view to augmenting the resources of the Maratha power in its enterprise aimed at expansion, consolidation and aggrandisement.[1] In pursuit of this policy the Marathas, during the period under review, made encroachments and deep thrusts in the provinces of Delhi, Agra, Malwa, Gujrat, Bundelkhand, Doab etc. In this prolonged confrontation the Mughal Maratha relations assumed the character of an ultimate struggle for survival and existence which persisted with reached the catastropic stage where the Mughal military and administrative machinery was weakened and considerably disabled to tackle successfully the Maratha menace to the Mughal provinces and advance towards the imperial capital. Such a state of affairs in which the various nobles of the Mughal Court instead of forming a united front and directing their energies to combat the Maratha incursions, fell with one another to seek their selfish ends and tried to secure Maratha alliance and utilised their support to crush their enemies. This offered a great boon to the Marathas to secure enormous concessions and immense wealth and play the role of arbiters of the destiny of Mughal power in the North.[1]

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[1] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, Satish Chandra, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1959, pp. 187-188; *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion*, V.G. Dighe, Bombay, 1944, pp.92-93; *Later Mughals*, 1707-1720, William Irvine, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 357-358; *Rise of the Peshwas*, H.N. Sinha, Allahabad, 1954, pp.50-52; *The History and Culture of the Indian People, The Maratha Supremacy*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1977, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-6.

Aurangzeb devoted the last twenty-five years of his reign with enormous resources to suppress the Marathas but he failed. The Marathas had gathered more strength by the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Since the assumption of Peshwaship by Bajirao I, the Marathas adopted the policy of expanding their dominions and they started regular attacks in the northern regions. These Maratha attacks were guided by a definite policy from the time of Bajirao under his energetic leadership.

In 1707 Shahu was released from the Mughal camp on the conditions that he would remain loyal and assist the Mughal Emperor and the Mughal *Subahdar* of the Deccan as much as he could.[2] So the policy of Shahu was not to oust the Mughals but to be friendly with them, to give them armed help whenever needed and thus to effectively influence imperial policy.[1] Peshwa Bajirao changed this policy in his effort at getting political leadership in northern India.[2]

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[1] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp.189-190; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 98-99; [illegible], pp. 50-62; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp.43-44; [illegible], Vol. I, pp. 357-362.

[2] 'Some Mughal Maratha Pacts', ed. G.H. Khare, *Select Articles*, Poona, 1966, p. 134; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, entitled *Miscellaneous Papers of Shahu and his first two Peshwas*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, No. 330; *New History of the Marathas*, G.S. Sardesai, [illegible], Poona, 1948, Vol. II, p. 12 says that the terms for the release of Shahu were that (1) he could rule his grand father's *swarajya* being a vassal of Mughal Empire; (2) he had to serve his sovereign with his contingent of troops whenever demanded; (3) the permission to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the six *subhas* of the Deccan.

In the year 1708 when Shahu was in hostility to his aunt Tarabai, Shahu laid emphasis on his main aim of getting the northern parts of his patrimony.[3]

Shahu first appointed Balaji Vishwanath to the post of Senakarte. Balaji made all efforts to fulfil Shahu's demands by raising funds, appointing men and bringing all the other hostile elements of the kingdom under command and out shone all the other ministers with his efficiency at work. Shahu gave him the office of the Peshwa and after some time even the position of the Chhatrapati was eclipsed by the Peshwa.[4] Since 17th November, 1913 when Balaji was appointed Peshwa,[5] the powers of Chhatrapati started being

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXX, No. 282; Vol. [illegible] entitled Bajirao's Advance upon Delhi, [illegible], ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1931, No. 72.

2. Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, p. 196.

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 23,27.

4. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 18.

5. Marathyanche Itihasachi Sadhane, ed. V.K.Rajwade, [illegible], Vol. IV, pp. [illegible]; Selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Vol. I, entitled Shahu Chhatrapati, ed. D.B. Parasnis, Government of Bombay, p. 42; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. [illegible].

transferred into the hands of the Peshwas.[1] During the period between the release of Shahu and the appointment of Balaji as Peshwa, Shahu's position as a Maratha King was well established. After this the Mughal court was sadly divided and it provided an opportunity to the Marathas for expansion in all directions beyond their national frontiers.[2]

During the time of Balaji Vishwanath and the other Peshwas, the collection of *chauth* was an easy source to boost the fast expansion of the Marathas. The Marathas collected *chauth* in different parts of the Mughal Empire as in Khandesh, Malwa, Karnatak etc. Thus an unending conflict ensued between the Maratha sardars trying to collect *chauth* and the Mughal *subahdars* intent on checking them.[3]

In 1718, Sayyid Husain Ali concluded a pact with the Marathas through the mediation of Shankarji Malhar whereby Balaji Vishwanath, on behalf of Shahu, demanded the right to levy *chauth* on all the six provinces of the Deccan that is, Aurangabad, Berar, Khandesh, Bidar, Golkonda,

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[1] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Bijapur which included the whole of Karnatak, including the tributary states of Mysore, Trichnopoly and Tanjore. He argued that the Marathas were collecting contributions from the Deccan provinces of the Mughals over two decades and it should be formally recognised by an Imperial grant. He also demanded chauth of Malwa and Gujrat which the Marathas had invaded. In the same way he demanded the right of raising an additional impost of ten per cent for the Raja as Sardeshmukh or head of the landed gentry. The old conquests of Shivaji in Maharashtra swaraj was to be completely restored and Subahdar Husain Ali would issue orders for the release of such forts and districts as were still in Mughal possession. Shivner, Shivaji's birth place was to be surrendered and also the fort of Trimbak in Nasik district. Conquests lately made by Parsoji Bhosle in Berar and Gondwana were to be confirmed. The old districts in Karnatak were demanded in the name of Fateh Singh Bhosle. The mother and the family of Shahu detained at Delhi were to be restored to the Raja Shahu.

In return, for the grant of chauth the Peshva, on behalf of Raja Shahu, promised to maintain fifteen thousand troops with the subahdar for the service of the Emperor, for the hereditary right of Sardeshmukhi, he agreed to pay the fees of ten per cent of the annual income from that source and bound himself to keep law and order in the country and to punish the rebels and the thieves and to make the country populous. For the _swaraj_ or old territory Shahu agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees every year. It constituted an important condition of the pact that Raja Shahu would remain faithful to the Imperial throne and serve it loyally.[1] The proposals worked out by Shankarji Malhar were immediately accepted with the exception of claims on Gujrat and Malwa. Husain Ali gave a _sanad_, containing the articles of peace, under his seal, to the _vakils_ of Raja Shahu and immediately wrote for a royal _firman_ confirming this agreement. Husain Ali introduced the agents of Raja Shahu every where and orders were sent to restore _Swaraj_ territory to Raja Shahu's officials. These grants by Husain Ali were to receive the royal confirmation. Farrukhsiyar did not satisfy this agreement.[2]

Husain Ali had promised to obtain a _farman_ from the Emperor to confirm it. Shahu ordered his local officers to implement the treaty promptly and to collect the *chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* without getting the royal confirmation.[1]

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[1] _Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder_, Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, Third Edition 1924, pp. 50-55; 'Some Documents bearing on Imperial Mughal grants to Raja Shahu', A.G. Pawar, _Indian Historical Records Commission_, Year 1940, Vol. XVII, pp. 204-209; [illegible] and Sanads, pp. 1-9; _Select_ [illegible] _Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court_, pp. [illegible]; _Selections from Peshwa Daftar_, Vol. [illegible] entitled _Early activities of Shahu and_ [illegible], ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1931, No. 20; _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. II, pp. 40-41.

[2] "Some Documents Bearing on Imperial Mughal Grants to Raja Shahu", _Indian Historical Records Commission_ year 1940, Vol. XVII, p. [illegible]; _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. II, p. [illegible].

This treaty increased Shahu's prestige and made him the lawful Maratha ruler. After this treaty the Marathas became the masters of their home and obtained new opportunities for expansion beyond the Deccan.[2]

Like Shivaji, Shahu never tried to be an absolutely independent Maratha King but was ready to live as a vassal paying annual tribute and be obedient to the Emperor whose territories he had to safeguard with his own troops. Now the Marathas were free to move in search of new fields and territories.

This treaty was a starting point in the expansion of Marathas towards northern India. This treaty set the direction of the new type of Mughal-Maratha relation and though the parties were not conscious of its far-reaching results, the treaty inadvertently proved to be a turning point in the Maratha expansion towards the north. It became the starting point of Maratha expansion at the expense of the Mughal Empire because the Maratha ambitions were constantly rising on each successive step which was helped by the decline of the Mughal Empire and the designs of self aggrandisement and tactics of finesse and truckery adopted by Mughal nobles who were intent upon carving out their own spheres of power and if possible, to establish kingdoms with hereditory right of succession in the various *subahs*.

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[1] *[illegible] Itihasachi Sadhanen*, Vol. 3, pp. 99-100; *[illegible] Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 128- [illegible] that Husain Ali had promised to get the Emperor's *farman* within nine months; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 41.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 42.

In 1719 ten thousand Marathas accompanied Husain Ali under Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath with Bajirao, Santoji Bhonsle and others and added to his strength which led to the dethronement of Farrukhsiyar on 7th February 1719.[1] The Marathas were granted the sanads for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* under Imperial signature. Husain Ali also sent back to the Peshwa, his mother and other memberseof his family who had been in the Imperial custory at Delhi for twelve years. The Marathas left Delhi by March 1719.[2]

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1. *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVII, year 1940, p. [illegible]; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Ali Muhammad Khan, (Eng. tr.), M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1965, p. [illegible]; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No. [illegible], p.[illegible]; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhane*, Vol. IV, p. [illegible]; *Malwa in Transition*, (First Phase 1698-1765), Raghubir Singh, Bombay 1936, pp. 110-111; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. [illegible].
2. *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVII, year 1940, pp. [illegible], The *farman* for *chauth* was issued on 13th March and for *sardeshmukhi* on 24th March. The date of the grant of *swarajya* is not known. These *sanads* are dated the first year Muhammad Shah's reign; *Malwa in Transition*, p.111; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. [illegible]; *The First Nizam*, Yusuf Hussain, Bombay 1963, pp. [illegible] says that the *sanad* granting *chauth* was issued on 3rd March while for *sardeshmukhi* on 14th March 1719.

At the time of his negotiations with Husain Ali, Shahu also tried to get the grant of *chauth* of the provinces of Malwa and Gujrat but this concession was not given to the Marathas as the situation at the Delhi Court was not favourable.[1] The result was that the Marathas started their attacks in these provinces in large number.[2]

The three main points which Balaji secured from the Emperor after this treaty and on which the future Maratha policy was to be based were the same as claimed by Shivaji for a long time. These three points claimed by Shivaji from the Mughal Emperor constituted the claims of *chauth*, *sardeshmukhi* and *svarajya*. Now these were conceded by the Mughal Emperor. As Balaji and Shahu received fresh grants from the Emperor to give effect to these claims shows that while Shivaji always considered himself an independent sovereign, the existing ruler of the Maratha state was a vassal and an obedient servant of the Emperor. The Maratha soldiers and people were not as independant during the period of Shahu and his Peshwas as they were during the time of Shambhaji and Rajaram. Shambhaji and Rajaram launched their attacks directly on the Empeor while Shahu and his Peshwas conducted their attacks against the Mughal provincial governors and Shahu maintained his position due to his beneficence. Only with the help of Balaji Vishwanath he took advantage of the difficulties of the Mughal Court. If he had continued his policy of opposition towards Mughal power and its local agents, he would have bitterly failed in his attempts. Due to the lack ofmen, money and resources, he adopted the policy of conciliation and goodwill and left Shivaji's policy of complete independence due to his own limitations.[1]

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[1] *Life of Chhatrapati Shahu*, p. 61; *Peshwa Bajirao I & Maratha Expansion*, pp. 23-24; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 47.

[2] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, [Eng. tr.] p. 391; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 196.

Balaji found a new way to reconcile military chiefs and to establish internal peace and order diverting their minds beyond the confines of their territories. The Peshwa parcelled out different parts of the Deccan among various military chiefs. These officers were authorised to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. Every leader had to keep a certain number of trained fighters for the state service at the call of the Chhatrapati or his Peshwa to pay his expenses from the collected chauth and the remainder to be paid into the government treasury with the regular report of his conduct to the Chhatrapati.[2]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 49.

2. *Military System of the Marathas*, S.N.Sen, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1958, p. 67; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 86; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 188-189.

To keep the different chiefs away from clash and hostility, Balaji clearly divided their fields of activity and influence. Khandesh and a small part of Balaghat were given to the Peshwa, Baglana and Gujrat to Senapati, Berar, Gondwana and all the territories to the East to Sena Saheb Subah, Gangathadi and Aurangabad to Sarlaskar, Karnataka to Fateh Singh Bhonsla, Haiderabad, Bedar and the districts between Nira and Warna to the Pratinidhi.[1] The Chhatrapati and Balaji found it the most convenient arrangement in the prevailing conditions for the rapid expansion of Maratha power.[2] These chiefs had to collect chauth from the assigned territories. They could extend their activities in their adjoining territories also. They were practically independent in their assigned fields. The Peshwa had the right to appoint their chief officers. Thus at one time internal peace was established and expansion was also arranged.[3]

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[1] *Life of Shahu Maharaj*, pp. 47-48, 71. p48. In the division of territory the Peshwa was given the provinces of Khandesh, Malwa, Baglana and the rest of northern India to make collections. *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 57; *Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 188-190.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 56.

[3] *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 57-58; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 188-190.

Peshwa was the head of the government and the deputy of the Satara raja so he was the head of the feudal chiefs and one of them at the same time.[1]

In the course of time the Maratha leaders and their commanders at arms established their control on different parts of the country distently situated as their own exclusive fields of influence. Most of the territory south of Narmada was already distributed among the different Maratha chiefs before Balaji had received the formal grant in 1719. After that fresh leaders came to Shahu's Court and requested him to give new fields of work and employment to them. The Peshwa's dash to the vicinity of Delhi filled the mind of every soldier with the feeling of exploitation, expansion and the conquest and the Raja gave them liberty for expansion.[2]

Unfortunately the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath did not survive for a long time to practice the aims and objectives which he had in his mind or expressed during his discussions with Saiyad brothers and other officers at Delhi. He suddenly died on 2nd April 1720. Under his Peshwaship the Maratha sovereignty was recognised by the Mughals. Sardesai has quoted the remark of Richard temple about Balaji Vishwanath that "He carried victoriously all his diplomatic points and sank into premature death with the consciousness that a Hindu Empire had been created over the ruins of Muhammadan power and that of this Empire the hereditary chiefship had been secured for his family."[1]

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[1] *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 174; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XVII, entitled '*Shahu and Balajirao - Administrative*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, No.13; Shahu issued an order that all should obey faithfully to Bajirao and should not distrub his temper; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 168; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 139.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 55.

It is said about Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath that he sowed the seeds of ruin of the Maratha state by not following the policy chalked out by Shivaji. It is said that the three claims which were brought by Balaji from Delhi made the Marathas slaves because they accepted the supreme power of the Emperor. But in reality the policy followed by Balaji Vishwanath for securing Maratha expansion by helping the Saiyad brothers can be kept parallel to Clive's acceptance of the Diwani of Bengal leaving nominal power by offering the Maratha aid to the Emperor. He was successful in finding a new path out of civil war and stagnation. Balaji Vishwanath can not be held responsible by any means for the ultimate fall of the Maratha state.[2]

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1. Quoted in *New History of the Maratha*, Vol.II, pp. 61-62.
2. *New History of the Maratha*, Vol. II, p. 62.

After the death of Balaji his son, Bajirao, was given the robes of Peshwaship on 17th April 1720.[1] Balaji Vishwanath made the post of Peshwaship hereditary in his family through his ability and statesmanship. He and his son Bajirao reached the position of Vicegerent of the King. Bajirao had the capability of practising the terms of the three grants. He expanded the Maratha power beyond the six *subahs* of the Deccan through the cooperation of Pavar, Holkar, Sindia and others. He separately assigned the fields for independent activities to every Maratha chief.[2]

Bajirao's position was further improved when Raja Shahu supported his policy of northern expansion against the Pratinidhi's policy of southern conquests. When Bajirao became the Peshwa a controversy arose between the Pratinidhi and Peshwa as to the policy of vigorous action to be adopted in relation to the reduction and conquest of the various regions in the south and the north. Pratinidhi was not opposed to the policy of expansion but he wanted that the conquest and the annexation of the Konkan area should take precedence because of the seizure of sizable land in the region by the Sidi

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60.
2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 54; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p.189.

of Janjira had necessitated the direction of Maratha energies towards that end as the presence of Sidi in that region constituted a menace to the stability of Maratha power. On completion of that expediton the affair of Karnatak should be taken to a successful conclusion because that was a matter left unfinished by Shivaji. When these gains have been secured and consolidated then the Maratha energy should be directed to the conquest of northern India. However he wanted to cultivate the friendship of Nizam-ul-Mulk. In prosecution of the policy of northward expansion Pratinidhi was insistent that the Marathas must be fully equipped with enormous resources, financial and military and a strong army together with an efficient administrative system to ensure stability at home.

On the other hand Bajirao believed that the position of the Mughal court was fast declining and becoming grave due to party factions, inbecillity of the Emperor, and divisive forces. The Empire was undergoing convulsions and disturbances. The Emperor sought Maratha help to maintain his position and safefuard his throne so the Peshwa wished that the nobles should also fall in line with the Emperor. So their disputes should be solved.

The Maratha independence should be fully and securely established as this task could not be properly achieved in the past. Bajirao was ready to check the Nizam as well as to March towards north. He said that there would be no opposition to the conquest of Karnatak - the states of Bijapur and Bhaganagar had already been conquered. He said that the conquest of Karnatak was a domestic affair which could be undertaken by sending Huzarat troops and other important Sardars. Pratinidhi would accomplish it. Shivaji had dreamt of Hindu domination which remains yet to be fulfilled.[1] Now another Swami had appeared so he

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[1] Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder, pp. 60-61.

In a speech the Peshwa expressed his views to the Raja Shahu, "The Mughal power is lying prostrate, it is nearing its end. It is torn by factions and internecive feuds. The Padishah desires to bolster up his throne with our support. You speak of the Nizam breaking the treaty and commending hostilities. But he is of no account. Aurangzeb when a Prince reduced the Subah of Aurangabad and resided there. Undeterred by his presence in the Deccan the great Shivaji attacked the Adil Shahi and Qutbshahi kingdoms, and laid them under tribute. After him Sambhaji lost everything, his forts, his kingdom, and his life. The Padishah remained in the Deccan with a formidable army to round off his conquests. Undaunted Rajaram carried on the struggle from Jinji. After a time even that citadel was lost to the enemy and the Padishah was still here with his innumerable hordes. Despite these heavy odds Rajaram marched on Aurangabad, ravaged the enemy's country, wrested his forts and recovered the entire kingdom from the Mughal. (Now the situation has changed in our favour). You (a monarch of great qualities occupy the throne and are assisted by able Counsellors.

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wanted to conquer it and fulfil that dream. Balaji Pant had won the support of all the rajas of Hindustan. So the time has come to perform this work. Bajirao ignored the power of the Nizam and offered to check him as well as the north ward expansion. Shahu ordered Bajirao to go into Hindustan and expected that due to the efforts of a man like Bajirao the territory upto Himalaya could be conquered and the household troops and other Sardars would be sent to Karnatak for its conquest.[1]

Bajirao also pointed out that northern India was very rich while the Deccan was almost ruined due to continuous wars. He said, "Strike, Strike at the trunk and the branches will fall of themselves. Listen but to my council and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the wills of Attock.[2]

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> Our aid is sought by the Mughal and by its means Kings are made and unmade. Is not this the moment when we should attempt to seize supreme political power? I undertake to hold the Nizam in check as well as effect a northward drive. You speak of reducing (South) Karnatak as more urgent, but hardly any opposition is to be countered in that quarter. The old Adilshahi and Qutbshahi no longer exist. The reduction of Karnatak is as good as a domestic affair and can be easily effected by the Husrat troops. The Pratinidhi will manage it. The great Shivaji's dream of a Hindu domination has remained unfulfilled to this date, Balaji Pant Nana has prepared the ground work establishing relations with the Hindu Rajas. This is the time to strike the blow."

1. Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder, pp. 60-62.
2. Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, P. 204.

Bajirao's policy of northward expansion did not indicate that he was not interested in the south. In 1724, when the Emperor asked for Maratha assistance against Nizam-ul Mulk, Bajirao had demanded the cessation of the *subah* of Hyderabad and the real right to nominate the Mughal Viceroy of Deccan.[1]

Thus Bajirao was also interested in the establishment of Maratha supremacy over the Deccan but he was not in agreement with Pratinidhi's view that the Marathas could conquer Karnatak without facing the bitter opposition of the Nizam or they could capture the mastery of the Deccan in the face of a strong enemy like Nizam with the resources of Maharashtra alone. So Bajirao was determined to overrun and bring under Maratha domination the rich provinces of Malwa and Gujrat. Since these provinces had political and strategic value, Bajirao gave a systematic form and political content to these raids. With the Maratha establishment in Malwa and Gujrat, a gap would be imposed between the Nizami and Delhi. Then the Marathas can surround the territories of Nizam on three sides and could turn against the Nizam at their convenience without the fear of his getting help from Delhi or raid the Doab and the areas to the east and west of it. The establishment of Maratha domination in Malwa and Gujrat was vital to the establishment of a large and powerful Maratha Empire.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. X, entitled *Early Strife between Baji Rao and the Nizam*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, No. 1; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 191.

Bajirao's policy however covered ambitious designs beyond the security of the Maratha homeland. He aimed at establishing Maratha supremacy beyond Narmada. He took the advantage of the mutual jealousies and hatred among the Mughal court nobles. He laid the foundation of Maratha expansion and aggrandisement.[2]

The Maratha hold on Malwa and Gujrat was vital to their expansion towards the north. He was prompted in his designs against Gujarat on financial considerations. The main source of income in Gujarat was handicrafts and commerce. All the merchants of Khandesh, Malwa, Barar and Upper India had to pass through Gujarat for shipment abroad. The famous ports of Broach and Surat lay on its coast.[3]

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1. *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 191-192.
2. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 204.
3. *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 192.

The regular Maratha attacks on Gujarat started from 1705 when they defeated the Mughal governor of Gujarat and collected chauth from there.[1] From the beginning of the 18th century Dabhades were assigned Gujarat and Baglana to collect the dues there.[2] The other Maratha expeditions in Gujarat were sent in the years 1707,[3] 1715-1716[4] and in 1719 under Pilaji Gaikwad who moved towards Surat and collected chauth from there after defeating the imperial forces.[5]

In 1718 at the time of his negotiations with Husain Ali, Shahu also tried to get the grant of chauth of the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat but these concessions were not conceded to the Marathas as the situation at Delhi Court was not favourable.[6] The result wasthat the

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[1] Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Eng. tr.), pp. 318-325, Later Mughals William Irvine, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1922, Vol. II, p. 196; Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, pp. 21-22.

[2] Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder, p. 47; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXX, No. 349, p. 371.

[3] Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Eng. tr.), pp. 333-334.

[4] Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Vol. II, p. 28; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXX, pp. 234-241. Khanderao defeated Mir Bakshi Zulfiqar Khan and Muhkam Singh, the diwan or Husain Ali.

[5] Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Eng. tr.), p. 391.

[6] Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder, p. 51; Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, pp. 23-24; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 47.

Maratha started their regularattacks in these provinces. In July 1724 Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk was appointed the *Subahdar* of Gujarat.[1] The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of all the *parganas* in the west of Mahi was paid to the Marathas.[2]

Again in 1725 the *chauth* for the lands, south of Mahi was granted to Kanthaji while Pilaji was to collect it on the side of Baroda and Surat. The Peshwa's forces took a share from the parganas of Sunth, Tala, Hidkavad, Jhalod and Parolia bordering on the province of Malwa.[3] The Marathas went from one place to another in the province and collected huge sums.[4]

Now the Governor Sarbuland Khan defeated the Marathas in Gujarat in January 1726.[5] He did not want to continue war and made an agreement granting the Marathas the *chauth* of the *Subah* of Gujarat for a year in May 1726.[6]

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[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Eng. tr.), p. 416; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 26.

[2] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Eng. tr.), pp. 419-423; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 152-173.

[3] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No. 312; *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), p. 434; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 183.

[4] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Eng. tr.), p. 434; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 183.

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Eng. tr.), pp. 443-444; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 28-29.

[6] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), p. 447; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 29.

Again on 20th of February 1727 the Governor, Sarbuland Khan entered into a secret agreement with Bajirao's representative[1] and promised to pay Shahu the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Gujarat. In return he had to help him in establishing peace in the province and expel the insurgents.[2] Udaji Pawar with Samruddin, the *faujdar* of Baroda tried to expel Bande and Pilaji but failed.[3] The right to collect the revenue from the territory south of Mahi was given to Pilaji while Bande was given the revenue of the Ahemdabad region. They appointed their naibs at various places for the collection of *chauth*.[4]

On Ist August 1727 Shahu granted Dabhade Senapati one half share of Gujrat's revenue which was in the possession of Chimnaji Appa.[5] Again in the winter season of 1727-28 Kanthaji's officers decided the matters of *chauth* with Sarbuland Khan.[6] In December 1729 Chimnaji Appa attacked Gujrat.[1] Sarbuland Khan after an agreement with Chimnaji on 23 March 1730 ratified the earlier agreement of February 1727 for the payment of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.[2]

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[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), p. 447; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 193; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 30.

[2] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86, pp. 84-85; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 197.

[3] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), pp. 450-452; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XII, *The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujrat*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Nos. 12,18; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 30-31.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XII, Nos.28,29, 30. These letters should be of the year 1727.

[5] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), p. 453.

[6] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XV, no. 86; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 31.

Now Abhai Singh was appointed the Governor of Gujrat in place of Sarbuland Khan.[3] In February 1731 Abhai Singh also entered into an agreement with Bajirao to pay the sum of thirteen lakhs of rupees in return to *chauth*. In return Bajirao had to drive the Maratha Sardars out of the province. Rupees six lakhs were to be given immediately and the rest after the expulsion of Maratha Sardars from the province. Thus the Marathas received the grant of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Gujarat with the hold of certain districts by the year 1731. But Bajirao could not establish peace for Abhai Singh.[4]

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No.317, pp. 296-297; also Vol. XII No. 32.

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 455; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XII, 32. The summary of the agreement is mentioned in *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, XV, p. 32. Sarbuland Khan first granted *chauth* to the Marathas in 1726. This agreement was repeated in Feb. 1729 in [redacted], Vol. XV, pp. 94-95 and finally ratified in March 1730; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 197 mentions the months of April for the ratification of these demands.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 470; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 197.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 484-485; *Parties & Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 197-198.

In March 1732 Abhai Singh called Pilaji for a meeting and killed him.[1] The Marathas under Udham Bai protested against it.[2] Abhai Singh agreed to pay eight thousand of rupees from the Ahemdabad revenue and the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the province and himself returned to Marwar leaving the affairs of Gujrat in the hands of his deputy Ratan Singh Bhandari.[3]

In 1737 Mahim Khan became the Governor of Gujrat. He did not possess the resources to hold his charge effectively and so he called Damaji for his help on promise of giving him half the revenues of the entire province. The Marathas came and besieged the province. Ratan Singh left the city after opposing them for six months. Thus the Marathas became powerful in Gujarat.[4] Their claim was only to be confirmed by the Emperor.[5]

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[1] *Selections from Peshva Daftar*, Vol. XIV, entitled *Maratha Conquests in the North*, 1732-1735, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1931, No. 1; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*(Eng. tr.), p. 491; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 198 mentions the year 1733 for the murder of Pilaji.

[2] *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.), p. 504.

[3] *Selections from Peshva Daftar*, Vol. X, No. 93; Vol. XIV, No. 43; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Eng. tr.),pp. 507,509,513; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 41-42.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XII, Nos.88,96, 98; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 42.

[5] *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 42; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 148.

MARATHA EXPANSION IN MALWA:

The province of Malwa formed a link between Deccan and Hindustan. It was situated in the centre and had a great political and military importance. The province of Agra lay to its north, the river Narmada to the south of it, Rajputana and north east Gujrat formed its western boundary while on its eastern boundary were situated the forests of Gondwana and Bundelkhand. Malwa served as the main highway between the north and the south. Firm hold on Malwa was essential for the security of the Empire. The forces from Malwa could easily attack Rajputana or Gujarat and march into the Deccan or Bundelkhand.[1]

The Maratha had started their raids on Malwa from the year 1699 when they devastated the places near Dhamuni under Krishna Savant and went from there.[2] Then followed a large number of Maratha attacks on Malwa in the years 1703-1704.[3] In the year 1710, Gangaram, a dismissed _sardar_ of Firoz Jang marched towards Malwa but was driven back by

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1. _Tarikh-i-Dilkasha_, Bhim Sen, (Eng. tr.), ed. V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay 1972, p. 216; _Malwa in Transition_, pp. 8-12; _Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion_, p. 57; _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. I,p. 36.
2. _Tarikh-i-Dilkasha_, (Eng. tr.) p. 216; _Malwa in Transition_, p. 38.
3. _Tarikh-i-Dilkasha_, (Eng. tr.) pp. 237-244; _Malwa in Transition_, pp. 46, 57-61.

the Deputy Governor, Daud Khan.[1] In March 1711 another Maratha force under Khanderao Dabhade sacked Sultanpur. Gangaram with Kanhoji Bhonsle and Chimnaji Damodar dashed to Amjhera and collected twenty five thousand of rupees forcefully. Early in 1713 a Maratha force under Gangaram and Kanhoji marched to Malwa. The Subahdar Najabat Khan, and Nizam-ul-Mulk marched against them but in May 1713 the Marathas retreated from there.[2] The Maratha attempt to plunder Malwa in the following cold season was proved futile due to the attempts of Jai Singh, Governor of Malwa and Chhatrasal Bundela.

Again in year 1715 he marched towards Malwa and collected the dues in the south western region for a month. In May 1715 Jai Singh marched against them and the Marathas retired leaving their camp and baggage. Early in 1716 a Maratha force under Santaji Bhonsle went into the eastern side of Malwa. Another Maratha force crossed the Narmada and marched in north side. Thus the Maratha forces were

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1. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 89; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 47-48.

2. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 89-90.

spread everywhere.[1] The *mokasa* of some provinces north of the Narmada was assigned to Kanhoji Bhonsle as early as January 1717.[2] In April 1717 the Marathas under Khanderao Dabhade entered Malwa and collected dues from the *parganas* of Ashta, Deogarh, Sehore etc. Khanderao with Santaji Bhonsle defeated the Imperial troops and collected tribute from Bhilsa.

In November 1717 Jai Singh was succeeded by Mohammad Amin Khan.[3] This time the Marathas were engaged in their negotiations with Husain Ali. According to the instructions from Shahu, Balaji tried to get the *Sanad* of the *chauth* of Malwa when he came to Delhi in 1719 but could not obtain it.[4]

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1. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 90-91.
2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No. 17A; *Administrative System of the Maratha.* S.N. Sen, University of Calcutta, 1923, p. 243 says that "Shivaji invaded the territories of his enemies and offered them the option of purchasing security or submitting to plunder. The price that he first demanded was *Sardeshmukhi* or Rs. 10 for every 100 levied by the government. To the *Sardeshmukhi* was subsequently added another claim, that of the *chauth* or Rs. 25 percent of the total government collection. The whole of the *chauth* was reserved for the government treasury. The Babli or 25 percent of the *chauth* was collected for the Raja by his principal officers viz. Pratinidhi, Peshwa and the Pant Sachiv the rest was called the *mokasa* and was partitioned among the *Sardars* for maintaining troops.
3. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 90.
4. *Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder*, p. 51; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 95.

In 1720, Balaji was succeeded by Bajirao I.[1] The new Peshwa was in favour of a vigorous policy in northern India but was opposed in his projects by councils at home. He was given a free hand and encouraged in spirits by Chhatrapati Sahu. He was endowed with indomitable courage, dash and drive and the sagacity to execute plans successfully. Shivaji attained freedom for his people and united them into an independent state. The Peshwa carried forward his policy to establish Maratha supremacy throughout India and hoist the flag on the heights of Himalayas.[2] Bajirao sent Maratha force to attack Malwa every year.[3]

In 1719 Nizam-ul-Mulk had taken the place of Mohammad Amin Khan. But soon Nizam-ul-Mulk rebelled and went to the south. According to Shahu's promise Bajirao joined Alam Ali, the deputy of Sayyids, who was marching against Nizam with fifteen to sixteen thousand forces. But Alam Ali was defeated. On 4th January Nizam-ul-Mulk had a meeting with the Peshwa at Chikhalthan.[4] He accepted

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1. *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.II, p. 39.
2. *Life of Shahu Maharaj*, pp. 60-62; *Peshwa Bajirao I & Maratha Expansion*, p. 95.
3. *Malwa in Transition*, p. 143; *Peshwa Bajirao I & Maratha Expansion*, p. 95.
4. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, pp.265-266; Vol. X, No. 5; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 159-161.

Shahu's demand of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* and issued a *Sanad* under his signature.[1] Due to the changing policies of Delhi Court Girdhar Bahadur was appointed the Governor of Malwa in September 1722. Again in May 1723 Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed Azimullah Khan as the Governor of the province.[2] On Ist February 1723 Bajirao reached in sourthern Malwa crossing the Narmada and marched towards Dhar. On 13 February Bajirao had a meeting with Nizam-ul-Mulk who was marching towards Gujrat. The meeting continued for six days. The results of the meeting are not known. Presumably the Nizam had discussed about a campaign with the help of Bajirao against Dost Mohammad Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal.[3] Bajirao came back to Khandesh. After some time he want to Handia district, sent his forces for the help of Nizam against Dost Mohammad. He exacted *chauth* in many places in south Malwa and left it early in April 1723.[4] Bajirao

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1. *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Year 1940; Vol. XVII, pp. 209-10; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 169.

2. *Later Mughals*, Vol.II, p. 242.

3. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII entitled *Extracts from the Peshwas Diaries*, ed. G.S. Sardesai No. 4; Vol. XXX, pp. 268-269, p. 310; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, entitled *Bajirao's entry into Malwa and Bundelkhand*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, No. 3; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 96; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 173 says that Bajirao wanted to be friendly with the Nizam as he was the Vazir of the Empire and the master of the Deccan and thus a important noble. Nizam wanted to be friendly with the Peshwa. He didn't want to creat enemies.

4. *Balaji Bajirao Peshwa Yanchi Roznishi*, ed. D.B. Parasnis, pp. 223-224; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, pp. 269, 310; Vol. XIII, No. 3.

left Udaiji Pawar at Dhar, Ranoji Sindia at Ujjain and Malhar Holkar at Indore to establish military posts throughout Malwa and organize the collection of chauth and sardeshmukhi. On 6th May 1724 Bajirao again crossed the Narmada. On 18th May he held another meeting with Nizam at Nalcha. In his meeting with Nizam, the Peshwa decided to help him against Mubariz Khan and others who were sent by the court to pppose the Nizam who was going to Deccan to take up the Viceroyalty. The Nizam agreed not to oppose the collection of chauth and sardeshmukhi in the six subahs of the Deccan, reissued the grants under his signature and might have encouraged the Peshwa in his claims on Malwa.[1]

In 1724 at the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk's rebellion, he and the Emperor both tried to secure Maratha help. This time the Marathas again tried to secure a farman granting the right to chauth and sardeshmukhi in the provinces of

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1. Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XVII, Year 1940, p. 207; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXX, pp. 269-271 says that Bajirao agreed to help the Nizam who marched out to south to establish an independent principality for himself. The Nizam accepted the Peshwa's demands; Studies in Maratha History, P. Setu Madhava Rao, Shivaji University Publication, Kolhapur, 1971, Vol. II, p. 66 says that Nizam-ul-Mulk kept himself separate from the Maratha activities in Malwa and Gujrat. He thought the Maratha armies working in Malwa and Gujrat as his own; Eighteenth Century Deccan, P. Setu Madhava Rao, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1963, p. 122 says that Nizam wished to make an agreement with the Marathas to give them the territory on that side of Narmada; Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, pp. 96-97.

Malwa and Gujrat. The Emperor did not accept their demands. Bajirao did not want to lose this opportunity. So the Nizam agreed not to interfere in the Maratha march towards Malwa and Gujrat in return for Maratha help.[1]

Actually the Nizam wanted to make his territory in the Deccan secure from the Maratha incursions. He also knew that due to the Maratha activities in Malwa and Gujrat the attention of the Mughal court could be diverted and they would not be able to adopt hostile designs against Nizam-ul-Mulk.[2] The Peshwa got a golden chance for the realisation of his ambition in Malwa due to the neglected state of affairs in Malwa after the Nizam's departure from Deccan in pursuance of the treaty of Nalcha between the Peshwa and Nizam.

On 3 December 1722 the Peshwa granted half the dues of *Mokasa* in Malwa to Udaji Pawar. In July 1724 a definite grant was given to Udaji for the year 1724-25

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. X, No. 1; Vol. XXX, pp. 269, 271; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 198 says that Nizam agreed not to interfere in the Maratha march towards Malwa and Gujrat in return for Maratha help.

2. *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol. II, p. 67.

granting the *mokasa* dues of Dhar and Jhabua districts.[1] Again in April 1724 a Maratha force under Baji Bhivrao, Udaji Pawar and his *divan* Ambhaji Purandar reached Malwa.[2]

In the year 1725 the Peshwa appointed Keso Mahadev, Kesho Vishwanath, Trimbak Gangadhar, Janoji Bhonsla, Krishnaji Pant and Udaji Pawar as regular Maratha officers to collect chauth from the districts of South Malwa.[3]

On 30 December 1725 Shahu offered terms to Shambhaji that both of them should jointly recapture the Maratha territories and include them in their *swarajya*. Shahu fixed the northern territory for himself while Shambhaji was given the southern territory. Both of them had to give the share to each other from the acquired money from the territory.[4]

In June 1725 the *subahdari* of Malwa was given to Girdhar Bahadur. He started his attempts to drive out the Maratha officers from the province and resisted the Maratha

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, p. 273; *Malwa in Transition*, p. 154.
2. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 97.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, pp.272-275.
4. *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Y.M. Kale & V.S. Vakaskar, Poona, 1930, No. 14; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 93.

officers from the collection of *chauth*. Shahu advised him not to resist them from collection of chauth but he did not heed Shahu's advice.[1] His Cousin Dayaram also entered Malwa with a large force to drive out the Marathas but both of them were defeated on 30 November 1728 in the battle of Amjhera. Throughout that summer the Marathas remained in Malwa.

After the defeat of Girdhar Bahadur by a Maratha force, his cousin Dayaram continued the struggle. He was also defeated and killed.[2]

Again in the year 1728, a treaty was concluded between Bajirao I and Santaji Bhonsle by which the *mokasas* on the other side of Narmada were given to Santaji while the Mokasa of Malwa was granted to Bajirao. Both of them were asked not to inferere in *mahals* and *mokasas* of each other.[3]

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1. The *Maathir-ul-Umara*, Nawwab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, (Eng. tr.), H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1952, Vol. II, p. 161; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, No. 6.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 7, 9,17,23,26-32, 36,37-38; vol. XXII, Nos. 44-45; Vol. XXX, p. 291; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol. II, p. 65.

3. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 55, 326.

In 1728 the Nizam was defeated by Bajirao at Palkhed. On 6th March 1728 the Nizam signed the Treaty of Mungi Shivgaon. Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed not to oppose Shah's claims of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six subahs of the Deccan and offer no protection to Shambhaji of Kolhapur.[1] After the defeat of Nizam-ul-Mulk the Peshwa decided to extend his power in the north instead of south and had chosen Malwa and Bundelkhand as the fields for expansion.[2]

After the death of Girdhar Bahadur, Bhavani Ram was appointed to Malwa to chase out the Marathas. The Marathas under Chimnaji and Udaji Pawar seized Ujjain but withdrew from in January 1729 due to lack of resources. After a fight with Bhawani Ram they were driven away from there. The Marathas overwhelmed and dominated the region and demanded the contribution. They raided the whole territory except Sironj and Ujjain.[3]

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[1] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86, pp. 89-91; *Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder*, pp.79-80; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol.II, pp. 65-66 says that the Nizam "had to recognise Shahu as the sole head of the Marathas and as such entitled to the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*", pp. 79-80,94-96; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. II, pp. 55-56; *The First Nizam*, p. 159; *Eighteenth Century Deccan*, p.26 says that the Nizam decided not to interfere in Malwa, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 98-99; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 90.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 101.

[3] *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p.100-101; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 246.

On 16th November 1729, the Peshwa confirmed the districts given to Malhar Holkar and Udaji Pawar for the collection of *chauth*.[1] The Marathas started attacks on Malwa near Dhar. Bhawani Ram had scant resources to pay off his troops.[2] So in November 1729 Jai Singh was appointed the governor of Malwa.[3] He adopted the policy of appeasing the Marathas. He thought that through his conciliatary policy he could establish an independent kingdom extending from the Jamuna to the Narmada. He could safeguard the boundaries of his kingdom by granting *chauth* to Maratha generals. He could take more concessions from the Emperor for himself. Jai Singh sent his agent Dip Singh to Shahu to conclude a lasting agreement. He promised to pay eleven lakhs of rupees from Malwa and fifteen lakhs from Gujrat as *chauth* on condition that the Marathas should not cross the Narmada.[4] In March 1730 Shahu ordered Maratha Sardars to stop their encroachments.[5] At first the Emperor agreed but afterwards changed his mind perhaps due to the influence

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, pp. 293-94, No. 75.
2. *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 246.
3. *Malwa in Transition*, p. 177.
4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. X, Nos. 66,67, 31,71,73-74, 10. In the last letter dated 17.8.1728 Jai Singh ordered that if the Maratha force would reach Malwa immediately, I will get all your demands granted by the Emperor. Jai Singh wrote that the Maratha force should create troubles in Malwa.
5. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 103.

of Vazir and other nobles of his group. He replaced Jai Singh by Mohammad Khan Bangash in September 1730 to chase out the Marathas.[1]

As the Peshwa adopted the policy of expansion, Mughal forces in different places could be defeated only with the help of vast Maratha forces. The maintenance of large and superior armies increased the financial liabilities of the Peshwa so he wanted to conquer new territories.[2] From Bundelkhand the Marathas could easily attack the Doab and from the Doab they could easily march eastwards into Bihar and Bengal or more towards Delhi.[3] Bajirao took the advantage of the complicated situation of Bundelkhand for the Maratha expansion in to the north.[4]

While the Marathas were continuously advancing close to the imperial territory, Mohammad Khan Bangash, who was appointed the governor of Allahabad in December 1720, marched into the country of Bundelkhand, a dependency of Allahabad with a view to conquering it and turning out Raja Chhatrasal. He captured the capital and all other strongholds there.[1]

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[1] *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 103; *Malwa in Transition*, p. 180.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 14, 15,18,29,33; *Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 103-104.

[3] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 208.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 9.

Chhatrasal appealed for help to the Poona court. Bajirao agreed to support Chhatrasal with his forces.[2] The Peshwa marched for Chhatrasal's help in November 1728 with 25,000 horse.[3] On 13th February 1729 he attacked Bari, after ten days the Deogarh Raja entered into an agreement and agreed to pay sixty five thousands of rupees annually to the Marathas.[4] The Peshwa marched towards Bundelkhand. On 10th March Bharti Singh, the son of Chhatrasal and on 13th March Chhatrasal welcomed him.[5] The Bundela chiefs joined him. On 19th March the Peshwa marched towards the camp of Mohammad Khan Bangash from Mahoba. The latter came to know about the presence of the Marathas when they were

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1. *Seir Mutaqherin* or Review of Modern Times, Being an History of India, Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, Calcutta, p. 260; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, (Eng. Tr.) Vol. II, p. 260.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, No. 10,22, 23,30; *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 260.

3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, No.22,23.

4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIII, Nos.33,39, 41; Vol. XXX, p. 288.

5. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII, No. 36; Vol. XXX, p. 288 says that the son of Chhatrasal met with Peshwa on 12th March near Mahoba while Raja Chhatrasal met with the Peshwa on 13th March near Dhamora.

at a distance of 20 kos from him.[1] He sent letters to Delhi court for help but no body took notice of his letters.[2] The Marathas besieged him on 27th March. Qaim Khan, the son of Bangash, arrived at Supa in the middle of May. On being pursued by the Marathas he escaped leaving his camp and baggage in Maratha hands. Mohammad Bangash took shelter in Jaitpur fort. The Marathas besieged the town and the fort of Jaitpur. In the meantime due to the beginning of the rainy season the Marathas raised the siege and left the place on 23rd May for Poona. Mohammad Bangash agreed not to attack the Bundelas and was satisfied with the formerly paid tribute.[3] Chhatrasal treated the Peshwa as his son and gave him a part of his kingdom as jagir and took the promise from him that he would take care of his two sons as his younger brothers and protect them from their enemies. Now the Marathas were free to attack the heart of the Empire at their will.[4]

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[1] *Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 106; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 238.

[2] *Seir Mutaqherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol.I, p. 260; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII, No. 44; *Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 107.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII, No. 45; Vol. XXII, Nos. 44,40. The last letter says that Qaim Khan's soldiers were plundered, elephants were captured. Mohammad Khan Bangash was besieged. Qaim Khan escaped with hundred *sawars*, also Vol. XXX, p. 289; *Seir Mutaqherin*,(Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 261 says thatQaim Khan defeated the Bundelas and saved his father.

[4] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX,p. 289; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 108.

The Bundela chief Chhatrasal died in 1731. The Peshwa sent his brother in Bundelkhand for the partition of *jagirs* and the Collection of dues from the Bundela chiefs of Orchha, Datia, Marwar and Bhadawar. Chimnaji left Deccan in October 1732, came in Bundelkhand and appointed Govind Ballal Kher to carry out the revenue administration of the territory. Jagatraj Bundela gave the Peshwa a *Jagir* to the value of one lakh while Hirdesa gave of one and quarter lakhs and the fort of Rajgarh. He also intended to march on Orchha to capture it with Maratha help and to give Datia and Orchha to them. The Bundelas agreed to help the Peshwa in his foreing invasion or in his march to Delhi or Prayag and agreed that the conquered territory would be equally shared by them.[1]

The Bundela Rajas sent letters to the Mughal court for help against the Marathas. Before the arrival of Vazir's forces the Marathas had gone from there after the collection of tribute. The Raja of Orchha and Rao Ramchandra asked the Vazir to march against Hirdesa, but the Vazir did not want to lead campaign during the monsoon season in the hilly Bundela country and on 28th July they arrived at Delhi.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos, 7,8,9; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 108 says that Chharasal's two sons agreed to give Bajirao territory worth one and a quarter lacks each.

Mohammad Khan Bangash reached Ujjain in January 1731 with a ten thousand force.[2] The Peshwa appointed Malhar Holkar as supreme commander in Malwa. Ranoji Sindia also joined him.[3] In a meeting on 17th March 1731 Nizam-ul-Mulk made a plan with Mohammad Khan Bangash to move against Bajirao and his followers but after some time changed the plan due to the defeat of Trimbak Rao Dabhade by Bajirao. After fighting a battle with Bajirao near Daman, Nizam-ul-Mulk made a secret agreement with Bajirao that he would not attack Deccan and collect nothing except *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from there. Nizam agreed not to interfere in Maratha invasions of the north on condition that the Marathas would not destroy Khandesh while passing

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1. *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 108; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 107.

2. *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 249-250; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 1739-1754, Jadunath Sarkar, First Edition , Calcutta, 1932, Vol. I, p. 246.

3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, p. 300, 304-6; Vol. XXII, 54,62 say that in 1731 the Peshwa divided the province of Malwa among his *sardars*; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, p. 497 says that in the division of territory Ujjain was given to Sindia, Indore to Holkar and Dhar to Pawars. From the revenues of the new captured territories 31% was to be paid in the royal treasury, 30% to be the share of each Sindia and Holkar and 9% of Pawar.

through it during their march towards the north.[1] By this pact Nizam wanted to protect his territory from the encroachments of the Peshwa and to divert their attention towards other directions.

Mohammad Khan Bangash could not suppress his enemies and was replaced by Jai Singh on 28th September 1732 in the Viceroylty of Malwa.[2] After an agreement with Holkar, Jai Singh agreed to pay Rs. 6 lakhs and 28 *parganas* of Malwa to Holkar in place of *chauth*. Sindia and Holkar were in agreement as to the above terms by the end of February 1733.[3] The pact concluded by Jai Singh was not ratified. Again in 1733-34 Holkar and Sindia marched towards Malwa. There was a clash between Holkar and Yar Mohammad Rohillah of Bhopal. Many men were killed.[4] Then

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, Nos.90,91, 104-105,6, 83 say that Nizam had a meeting with Bajirao at Rohe-Romeshvar near Ausa; *Marathyancha Itihasadi Sadhnen*, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Vol. 3, p.97; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol.II, p. 66; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 216; says that Nizam entered into a secreat pact with Bajirao and allowed him to move in north India to fulfil his plans; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 113; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 251-52; *Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, January 1941, p. 74 says that after a meeting with Bajirao Nizam agreed not to interfere in the Maratha Expansion towards north; also *Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandala Quaterly*; Vol. XXVI, year 1946, Nos. 101-103.
2. *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp.217-218; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p.112; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, p. 246.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.1,2,7,9, Vol. XV, No. 6; Vol. XXX, pp. 309-11;
4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XIV, Nos.11,18; Vol. XV, No. 5.

the Maratha attacked Rajputana and Pilaji Jadhav made collections from Datia and Orchha.[1] Pilaji went to Gwalior and Bhadawar where he was given three lakhs of rupees by the chief, returned to Marwar and then to Deccan by the end of April.[2]

Imperialists were alarmed by these Maratha raids. In 1732-33 Vazir Qamaruddin Khan marched against the Marathas with a force of eighty or ninety thousand upto Malwa encamped at Shivpuri in district Gwalior and sent Azimullah Khan against the Marathas who defeated Pilaji and compelled him to cross the Narmada. The Vazir returned to the capital and made no arrangement for the defence of Malwa from Maratha raids.[3]

In 1733-34, Muzaffar Khan, the brother of Khan-i-Dauran, Mir Bakshi was sent to defeat the Marathas. In fact the Marathas after the conquest of Malwa and Gujrat had started their ravages facing no opposition form the Imperialists. They were satisfied only by laying contributions. They captured the territories upto the vicinity of Gwalior which is so close to Agra and exacted collections as far as Agra and Ajmer having been encouraged by Nizam-ul-Mulk. Muzaffar Khan with a strong army and artillery marched to fight the enemy. The Marathas never made a stand before him and pursued him as far as Sironj. Finally he received the orders for return and sought shelter in flight and returned to Delhi by June 1734.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.10,13, 18; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p.116.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.10,13, 18; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 249.

[3] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp.219-220; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 276-277; *SeirMutaakherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p.265 says that the Vazir with the Emperor went on the bank of the river Jamuna. He heard about the Maratha raids at Agra. He marched upto the Hindan river to face them and waited for about a week at Sera of Banghelkhan. The Marathas went from there hearing the news of Vazir's arrival. The Vazir came back to Faridabad.

Again after the rainy season was over the Marathas under Pilaji, Balaji and Vyankatrao Ghorpade crossed the Narmada on 15th January 1735 and arrived at Amola in Orchha.[2] Another army under the leadership of Holkar and Sindia marched towards Malwa.[3]

In November 1734 Vazir Qamaruddin with a large force of twenty to twenty five thousand moved via Agra to Bundelkhand against Pilaji and had two or three clashes with his forces. The son of Chhatrasal, Hirdesa also joined Pilaji. Pilaji captured two or three hundred camels and horses of the Vazir. From there Pilaji went to the places of Pohri, Sipri, Kolaras etc. Mughals were at Marwar. The Vazir had failed miserably either to engage the Marathas or to drive them out. Vazir wanted to make an agreement paying five lakhs of rupees but Pilaji refused. Pilaji went to Bundelkhand from Malwa to collect his baggage and returned to the Deccan.[1]

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[1] *Seir Mutaqherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, pp. 266-267.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 23.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 22.

Khan-i-Dauran marched against the Marathas from Delhi in November 1734 with Mughal forces. On the way the Rajput Rajas Jai Singh, Abhai Singh, and Durjan Sal of Kota joined him.[2] They arrived at Rampur early in February where Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Sindia surrounded Khan-i-Dauran, stopped the supply and captured the horses and camels of the enemy. The Marathas then entered into the country of Jai Singh via Bondi - Kota crossing the Mukundra Pass.[3] On 28th February they looted Sambhar city. The

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.21-23; *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 268.

[2] *Selection From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 23.

[3] *Selection From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 21,23-24, 26-27,37; also Vol. XXII, No. 293 says that "Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Sindia fought a battle with Khan-i-Dauran and Jai Singh. An agreement was made finally. They were victories. They made an agreement in Malwa."

The *faujdar* agreed to give them four elephants and Rs. 3 lakhs with some other effects.[1] Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Sindia had a meeting with Khan-i Dauran in the presence of Jai Singh.[2] On the suggestion of Jai Singh, Khan-i-Dauran entered into negotiations with the Marathas and accepted the payment of twenty two lakhs of rupees as the *chauth* of Malwa to send back the Marathas beyond Narmada. Khan-i-Dauran returned to Delhi by the end of April 1735.[3] The Vazir also returned to Delhi in May 1735 from Marwar.[4] Thus the Mughals failed against the Marathas.

Now there were two parties at the court. One was in favour of peace with the Marathas as confrontation was futile and the other group wanted to fight with them with the help of Nizam. Khan-i Dauran and Jai Singh were of first party while Qamaruddin and Sadat Khan were of the other. The second group charged that Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran had a conspiracy with the Marathas and tried to destroy the Empire. Sadat Khan was ready to prevent the Marathas

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1. *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 268.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.24,26, 27; Vol. XXII, No. 284 says that Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Sindia met with Khan-i Dauran.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos.24,26, 27; 'The Peshwa Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I' 1720-1728, M.V. Gujar; *Indian History Congress*, year 1938, p. 612; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, p.265; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 120.
4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XIV, No.29; Vol. XXII, No. 292.

from crossing the Narmada with the help of Nizam if he was given the governorship of Agra and Malwa with no other monetary help. The Emperor also blamed Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran. Khan-i Dauran replied that the Marathas could be won over only by peaceful negotiations. If their demands would be accepted peacefully, they would not create any disturbance in the imperial territory. He replied that he and Jai Singh had agreed to secure the grant of only those territories in Malwa to the Marathas which were in possession of rebellious Rohillahs or thieves. Sadat Khan and the Nizam were in unison to set up another Emperor on the throne.[1]

The Emperor was in favour of continuing the war against the Marathas. A reconciliation was established between the Vazir and Abhai Singh of Marwar. The Vazir was given the charge of Malwa, Agra and Gujrat. The Emperor ordered the Vazir not to plunder Jai Singh's country if he joined the Vazir with his troops.[2] He planned to march himself against the Marathas after the flooded river

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 39,47, 51.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 39; Vol. XXX, No. 152; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 123-124; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, pp. 259-160.

receded. Jai Singh and Khan-i Dauran had to march towards Deccan via Jaipur while the Vazir, Sadat Khan and Abhai Singh via Gwalior. Attempts were also made to pursuade Mohammad Khan Bangash to collect an army for the protection of Jamuna fords from the Marathas.[1]

In the year 1735 Peshwa's mother left Poona and came for the pilgrimage of north Indian religious places. On the way different Rajput Rajas respected her, gave her presents and sent their secret opinions to the Peshwa. She went to Udaipur, Nathdwara, Jaipur, Mathura, Kurukshetra, Allahabad, Banaras and Gaya. Then she returned to Benaras and after it to Bundelkhand. In May 1736 she arrived at Poona.[2]

As Jai Singh had friendly relations with the Marathas, so during the pilgrimage of Peshwa's mother to northern India, he told the Peshwa's Vakil that he had always protected the interests of the Marathas. He sent a message to Bajirao and called him to northern India with 5,000 horse. Jai Singh was ready to pay him five thousands of rupees for his daily expenses and twenty lakhs of rupees as the *chauth* of Malwa. Jai Singh asked the Peshwa to meet the Emperor with the help of Khan-i Dauran and confirm his demands.[1] He wrote him that if his visit there did not succeed, he could adopt any other way leaving the negotiations.[2]

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[1] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 30,32; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 256.

[2] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, 31, 39; Vol. XXX, Nos. 126, 128, 131, 134; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. IX, entitled *Bajirao and his Family*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, No. 2; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, ed. G.H. Khare, Vol. IV, No. 7; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 256.

On 8th October 1735, the Peshwa Bajirao with Sindia and Holkar and other sardars as Tukoji, Anandrao Pawar and Kanthaji Kadam Bande marched from Deccan.[3] As Pilaji was ill, his son Satwaji Jadhav with Baji Bhivrao commanded the force of Bundelkhand. The two forces marched

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 31,39, 47, Jai Singh thought that with the help of the Marathas he could get the control of the provinces as well as status in the imperial court, He told the Peshwa's Vakil that he always protected the interests of the Peshwa and had no confidance over the Emperor. With the Peshwa's help Jai Singh would capture the provinces. Otherwise they would be given in any other hand and the Peshwa would be compelled to surrender all the benefits taken by him due to Jai Singh; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp. 121-22; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, No. 47; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 122.

3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 42,45; Vol. XXX, Nos. 144, 148; Vol. XXII, pp. 168-169.

along the Narmada separately.[1] In December the Peshwa occupied the fort of Kukshi, and in January 1736 he arrived at Banswara, situated on the boundry of Mewar marching through Lunawara and Dungarpur.[2] From Dungapur the Peshwa sent Mahadev Bhat Hingne, the Maratha Vakil at Delhi and Raja Ayamal to settle terms and a suitable place for encouragement of army during the time of negotiations with Jai Singh.[3]

At Udaipur Jai Singh sent his diwan Ayamal to the Peshwa with presents and called him for a meeting. Jai Singh had already sent the terms with the agent Mahadev Hingne to the Peshwa which he would put before the Emperor for approval. "They consisted the cash indemnity of 20 lakhs, a jagir of 40 lakhs in Malwa and a Tankah on the territory of Dost Mohammad Rohillah." Another Maratha vakil, Dadaji Pant went to Khan-i Dauran. He negotiated through the medium

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXII, pp.168-170; Vol. XIV, No. 42; Vol. XXX, Nos. 144,148; Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion, p. 123.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XIV, Nos. 50,51; Vol. XXX, No. 158; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp. 260-262.

3. Hingne Daftar, ed. G.H. Khare, Poona, 1945, Vol.I, No. 3; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XIV, No.50 says that the Peshwa sent his agent Mahadev Bhat Hingne to Jaipur from Mewar. The minister Ayamal introduced him to Jai Singh. Jai Singh sent five lakhs to the Peshwa out of that two lakhs in cash, the rest in costly robes, jewellery, five horses and elephant through Ayamal and called the Peshwa immediately. Jai Singh gave Palki and necklace to Mahadji and gave all respects.

of Ranoji Sindia and Ramchandra Shenvi. Khan-i Dauran sent money to the Peshwa through Najabat Khan.[1]

The Peshwa marched towards Jaipur. Jai Singh also marched and on 14th March met with Bajirao at Bhamolao and discussion for several days.[2] Yadgar Khan also reached there with a patent for the two provinces of Malwa and Gujrat from the Emperor and to take Bajirao into Imperial service promising him honours and rewards. Raja Jai Singh was a mediator for the purpose.[3] Jai Singh wanted to defend his position in Malwa through the friendship of Peshwa. He wanted to keep hold of Malwa and Agra permanently.[4]

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[1] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 50,51; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 265.

[2] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, no. 56; Vol. XXX, No. 156. The writer says that the Peshwa reached Delhi, had a meeting with the Emperor. He met Jai Singh at Jainagar. Both of them went to Delhi *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 265 says that the Peshwa remained with Jai Singh till 18th March.

[3] *Seir Mutacherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 271, 285.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XIV, nos. 31,47 Jai Singh told the Maratha Vakil that after the conquest over Marathas by the Turanis, they would ignore him so in all matters he wanted to follow the wishes of the Peshwa; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol.IV, Nos. 6-10, says that the Irani party leaders again and again tried to get the Maratha help as they were strong enough. They asked Bajirao to come to Delhi personally and to meet the party leaders and to get his demands granted by the Emperor on the condition that the Marathas would help them for the safety of the Empire.

At this time a Maratha force under Chimnaji had reached Gwalior via Sironj and Bundelkhand. Pilaji had come to support him. Another Maratha army under Satwoji Jadhav and Baji Bhivrao reached Bundelkhand in January 1736 and collected tribute from Datia, Orchha and from the *zamindars* of Suklora, Gujlora, Pachor, Uchat and Bhadawar. The sons of Chhatrasal Bundela had also accepted to join the Peshwa. Mohammad Khan Bangash was ordered to safeguard the fords of Chambal near Dholpur and encamped in the ravines of Chambal to face the Maratha attack. He sent his envoy to the Marathas for terms. Baji Bhivrao was ordered not to enter in Doab as the Peshwa was busy in his negotiations with Mughal commanders Jai Singh and Khan-i Dauran.[1] A small Maratha force also plundered a few places in Etawa and Kanpur districts in Gangetic doab crossing the Jamuna.

On the other hand the Vazir marched against Pilaji and there were clashes between their forces throughout the month of January 1736 near Orchha. On 3rd February after a battle Pilaji took flight towards Deccan. The Mughal armies pursued him till Ujjain.[2]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XIV, Nos.55,56,62; Vol. XV, Nos. 4, 8-16, 87-90; Vol. XXII, No. 48; Vol. XXII, No. 331; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, pp. 267-269.

2. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I,p.269; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 282-283.

A Maratha force under Holkar and Sindia had invaded Rajputana. Khan-i Dauran was sent to drive out the Marathas from there with the help of Raja Jai Singh. Malhar Holkar with Pratap Hada of Bundi encamped at ten or twelve miles distance from them. One day Malhar Holkar destroyed 1500 Mughal soldiers and in February finished the operations due to the negotiations opened by the Peshwa.[1]

From February to June 1736 Bajirao and the Emperor negotiated through Khan-i Dauran and Jai Singh. The Peshwa had sent his demands to the imperial government through his vakil Dhonde Mahadeo. He demanded (1) A hereditory state under the crown (2) Grants of *mansabs* and *jagirs* for himself and his chiefs (3) Cessation of hostilities against his army (4) The office of the Sardeshpande of Deccan (5) An indemnity to meet the war expenses. He also demanded to be received by the Emperor in the court. His first and fifth number of demands were accepted and was promised to grant the rest of the demands.[2]

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 269; *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 283-84.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 92.

In the another Yadi the Peshwa demanded the *subahdari* of Malwa, the control of the *jagirs* excluding the forts in the possession of the Emperor but including the lands of *jagirdars*, old feudatories, grantees of rent free lands and daily allowances and thirteen lakhs of rupees for expenses. These demands were granted. The sum of thirteen lakhs was to be paid in three instalments, four lakhs at the arrival of Pilaji at the Imperial Court and settlement of agreement, five lakhs at the time of autumn harvest and the rest four lakhs during the spring harvest.[1]

In another Yadi the Peshwa demanded the payment of rupees two lakhs to his brother Chimnaji who was loyal to the Imperial services.[2] This demand was granted.

The Peshwa increased his demands. He wanted the right to collect the tribute of Rs. 10,5000 annually from chiefs and *zamindars* of Malwa. These were Orchha, Bhadawar,

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 93. The *nazar* of rupees six lakhs which the Peshwa had to pay as the *nazar* for the grant of the Sardeshpandya rights of the Deccan was to be paid one-fourth in cash and the rest in instalments after the establishment of the control in this country. It was also granted.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 93 out of these two lakhs one lakh was given at the arrival of Pilaji in the Imperial Court and one lakh after the agreement in the spring harvest.

Chanderi, Narwar, Sipri, Rampura, Amjhera, Kota, Datia, Kheehi, Seondha, Bundi.[1]

Fifteen lakhs of rupees were to be paid to the Peshwa for his expenses, five lakhs on his arrival at Malwa , five lakhs on his visit to the Emperor and five lakhs at the end of the year.[2]

The Peshwa demanded a *jagir* of fity lakhs in the six provinces of the Deccan, the Emperor's son was to be given the *Subahdari* of the Deccan. Bajirao was to get half of the revenue that might be collected for the Emperor through his attempts. The fort of Shivner, the confirmation or the *Sardeshpandyashin* of Deccan and of village, *Mokasa* etc. and the state of Chandawar should be given to Shahu.[3]

The other demands were:

1. The *Subah* of Malwa inclusive of the states should be granted to the Peshwa in *jagir* and he should be appointed *Subahdar* of Malwa.(It would be done according to the appointment).

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p.94.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 94. The Emperor granted it.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vo. XV, p. 95.

2. Yar Mohammad Khan and Ijjat Khan should be expelled from Bhopal with the help of imperial forces and their estate should be given to the Peshwa. (After the arrival of your forces there, the order would be given).

3. The forts of Mandu, Dhar and Raisin in the Malwa province to be given to the Peshwa to keep his family there. (On the arrival of Peshwa after the meeting with the Emperor one fort would be given).

4. The entire land on the north of Chambal river should be given to the Peshwa. He promised not to plunder the territory of the Rajas in this region if they paid their *nazar* to him. (No disturbances should be created according to the agreement).

5. The Peshwa should be given the assignment of rupees twenty lakhs from the Bengal revenues to release himself from the debts (it would be done according to the agreement).

6. Prayag, Kashi, Gaya, Mathura should be granted to the Peshwa as *jagirs*, (it was not signed).

7. Bajirao would go to Agra, meet with Amir Khan and Jai Singh and would be presented to the Emperor during a ride and would be given leave immediately after a meeting (after the arrival of the Peshwa, according to the order he would be received).

8. The office of Sardeshpandya should be conferred on the Peshwa (it was not signed).

9. Some parts in the Deccan should be given to the Peshwa in Inam by a Sanad. (it was not signed).[1]

But no agreement could be made due to far reaching demands of the Peshwa.[2] Bajirao waited for the acceptance of these demands in Malwa till the end of May and then returned to the Deccan. He decided to attack the Empire if his demands were not accepted the following year.[3] On 29th September 1936 the Emperor issued a *farman* in the name of Bajirao and gave him a *mansab*, the *jagirs*, the *mahals* of his *watan*, robes of honour, *Jigha*, *Sarpench*, a pearl garland, an elephant and a horse binding him to serve the Empire loyally.[4] The Emperor created Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa the commanders of seven and five thousands forces respectively.[5]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, pp. 95-96. After the demand of Peshwa, the answers of the Emperor have been written.

[2] The Peshwa one by one increased his demands and ultimately wished for his control over Malwa, Bundelkhand and the Deccan.

[3] *Selection From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII, No. 333; Vol. XXX, No. 167; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 229.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 86. The date of the issue of *farman* is 29th September 1736; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol. IV, No. 12.

[5] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 67.

On 12th November 1736 the Peshwa again marched towards north India and joined his troops at Bhilsa.[1] By the end of February he reached near Bhadawar. The Raja of Ater surrendered on 18th February and the Raja of Bhadawar agreed to pay him the tribute of Twenty lakhs of rupees and paid the Peshwa Fifteen lakhs of rupees as personal gift.[2]

Subsequently Maratha Sardars Holkar, Satwaji Yadhav Baji Bhivrao and Roopram Adaru entered Doab with a force of ten thousand entered to lay waste the country of Saadat Khan. They marched upto the vicinity of Agra. Mansur Ali, the nephew of Saadat Khan faced the Marathas. Sadat Khan also marched against them with a large force and defeated them. The Marathas suffered heavy losses. Sadat Khan went to Agra. The Maratha forces joined the Peshwa at Kotila near Gwalior.[3] The forces of the Vazir and Mir Bakhshi went towards Agra to help Sadat Khan, Jai Singh, Abai Singh also reached Agra.[1] When Sadat Khan was at Agra, Bajirao moved towards Delhi suddenly through the hilly country of Jats and Mewatis. The Mughal commanders were ignorant about it. He reached the capital on 29th March 1737. The Emperor sent eight thousand troops under Mir Hasan Khan, Roz Afzun Khan, Raja Shiv Singh and Muzzaffar Khan against the Marathas. The Mughal forces suffered heavy losses. Shiv Singh and a number of other nobles were killed. Mir Hasan Khan was wounded and died when he reached the city. Five or seven hundred horses were captured. The Peshwa retreated from Delhi on 31st March.[2] It showed the Emperor the futility of the policy of operations advocated by Turani leaders and showed the strength of the Peshwa to the Emperor. Bajirao did not want to destroy Delhi but he wanted that the Mughals should accept the policy of granting concessions proposed by Jai Singh and Khan-i Dauran and supported by the Emperor.[3]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXII, Nos. 339, 341; Vol. XV, No. 5; Vol. XXX, No. 192; Vol. X No. 27 says that the Peshwa also went to Bhopal and compelled Yar Mohammad for the payment of rupees five lakhs in December 1736.

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, No.18,19,48.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXX, Nos. 198,196; Vol. XV, Nos, 17,27,24,28,32,34, 38 Letter No, 17 says that the son of Pilaji with 15000 savar and the raja of Adaru with four thousand force went across the Yamuna. They fought a battle with Sadat Khan.

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX Nos. 196, 198; Vol. XV, ∠ Nos. 17,27.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, Nos. 47,17,37, Vol. XXX, No. 198; *Brahmendra Swaminche Charitra*, ed. D.B. Parasnis, No. 27, Sadat Khan sent false reports about the Maratha defeat to the Emperor. The Emperor conferred many honours on him. Bajirao wanted to show the Emperor that these accounts were false and he was still in Hindustan and the Marathas were at the gates of the capital.

[3] *Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra*, No. 27; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 131 says the main aim of the Peshwa in this expedition was to creat terror in the hearts of his enemies and get his demands granted by armed force, pp. 135-136.

When Bajirao was returning from Delhi, he faced the Vazir's forces at Badhavar. After a clash the Peshwa captured about hundred horses and an elephant of the Vazir and went towards Bundelkhand to take his baggage.[1]

The Emperor was very much alarmed by Bajirao's raid in the vicinity of Delhi. Sadat Khan proposed that if the subahs of Malwa, Gujrat, Agra and Ajmer would be given to him, he would drive out the Marathas. He was ordered to go to his province of Oudh without an interview with the Emperor. Muhammad Bangash was ordered to hold on at Agra. The Vazir and Mir Bakhshi went to their mansions in the capital and Abhai Singh to Marwar. Jai Singh and Khan-i Dauran were in favour of peace with the Marathas.[2]

Now the Emperor invited Nizam-ul-Mulk to march against the Marathas. He was given five _subahs_ and one krore of rupees. Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Delhi by the end of June 1737.[3] In August the Emperor appointed his son the governor of Agra and Malwa.[1] After the rainy season Nizam-ul-Mulk marched against the Marathas in Malwa with a large force. The troops of Sadat Khan under his nephew Mansur Ali Khan, the troops of Rajput rajas and the Bundelas also joined him.[2] On 15th December Bajirao also reached Bhopal. Both the armies faced each other near Bhopal. The Marathas surrounded Nizam's troops.[3] Finally negotiations started through Ayamal, the *divan* of Jai Singh.[4] On 6th January 1938 at Durai Sarai near Sironj, Nizam-ul-Mulk signed the terms that (1) Bajirao should be granted the whole province of Malwa; (2) He should be given complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and Chambal. He would not cross the Chambal. (3) The Nizam would try to get the approval of the above terms by the *sanads* of the Emperor. (4) Nizam also agreed to pay Bajirao fifty lakhs of rupees for his war expenses. If the Emperor would not agree the Nizam promised to pay it according to his own resources.and favourable circumstances.[5]

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[1] _Selections From Peshwa Daftar_, Vol. XV, Nos, 47, 38,42; Dighe & Irvine have mentioned the name of the place Badshahpur where the Peshwa faced the forces of the Vazir.

[2] _Selections From Peshwa Daftar_, Vol. XV,No.s.29,30.

[3] _Selections From Peshwa Daftar_, Vol. XV, Nos.25-27, 37,40,42,44-45,48-49,53,60,68; Vol. X, No. 27,Vol. XXX, No. 194; _Studies in Maratha History_, Vol. II, pp. 108-109.

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 53.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, Nos.56,58; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 145; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol. II, pp. 110-112,

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, Nos. 56,57, 58,59; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol. II,pp.110-113; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 234; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, pp.145-149.

[4] *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 148.

[5] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, p. 87, No.63 says that Nizam promised 65 lakhs while the Marathas were demanding 85 lakhs; also Vol. XXII, No. 369;

(*Continued on next page.............*

Thus almost all the demands of the Peshwa as solicited in 1736 were confirmed by this treaty except those relating to the Deccan, and he was successful in giving effect to an important phase of his policy. The Maratha armies went to Kota where the Rao agreed to pay rupees ten lakhs[1], The Peshwa went in the Ahir Country[2] and then to Deccan via Datia and Orchha.[3]

Latter on when Nadir Shah invaded India Shahu asked Bajirao to help the Emperor but he could not do so as the Maratha Sardars were engaged in their own projects.[4] When Nadir Shah returned to his country, Bajirao proposed to all Mughal nobles to join together to face the invader and compose their disputes but could not succeed in his endeavour.[5]

(*Continued from previous page* ...

Malwa in Transition, pp. 261-62; *Studies in Maratha History*, Vol. II, PP. 114-115 says that "the grant of Malwa was sanctioned in the name of Peshwa Bajirao and the necessary *sanad* was made over to him. The condition was that when required the Peshwa should serve the Emperor with 1,00,000 troops. A general of his with 10,000 troops, should be permanently stationed with the Emperor."

[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, Nos. 65,68; Vol. XXII, No. 129, Vol. XXX, No. 299.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XV, Nos. 68,69.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXII, No. 290; *Peshwa Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion*, p. 150.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No. 222; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. IV, pp. 42-43 *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 237.

[5] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 237.

When Shahu was strongly advised by the Peshwa and the other Sardars as to the desirability of establishing Hindu monarchy at Delhi he issued a decree contained in his letter of 31st of May 1739 outlining Maratha policy vis-a-vis the Mughal Empire. He offered that it should be the duty of the Marathas to rebuild the decaying Mughal Empire, the Chhatrapati did not want to capture the Imperial throne for himself, he thought it better to improve a thing instead of creating a new one. He said that if the Marathas would adopt aggressive policy, all their neighbours would be their enemies and they would face dangers on all fronts. So he was in favour of supporting the continuity of the Imperial rule and to take the administrative management of the state to themselves as Amir-ul-Umara, to collect the country's revenues, to recover the expenses of the troops and to pay the rest in the Imperial treasury.[1] Before leaving Delhi Nadir Shah issued a directive to the Peshwa Bajirao to obey the Emperor of Delhi.[2] Which clearly shows that even the Persian invader fully acknowledged the primacy of importance and the leading role played by Bajirao in the affairs of the Empire.

After the invasion of Nadir Shah, the position of different groups changed. Sadat Khan died. Khan-i-Dauran was killed. Nizam-ul-Mulk and Qamar-ud-din Khan lost their

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp.168-169.
2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, p. 83; Vol. XXII, No. 299.

influence upon the Emperor. Nizam entered into an agreement with the Marathas. Only Jai Singh was at the Court among the nobles. Finally in 1741 peace was established[1] with the Marathas on the suggestion of Jai Singh.

In conclusion it must be said that Bajirao gave a definite sense of direction to the Maratha State. He outlined the main objectives of Maratha policy in the South as well as the North. He sought peace and tranquillity at home and expansion, aggrandisement, acquisition of a firm foothold in the North, enrichment of plunder and levy of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, firstly in Gujrat and Malwa and lately in other provinces as well became the main planks of his policy. His real aim in life was to unfurl the Maratha flag upto the farthest limits of Northern India and to bring under subjection the rich Northern provinces for the twin purpose of glorification of the Maratha race as well as to augment his financial resources for further exploits. He was sagacious enough to start his adventures from near the homeland and Gujrat and Malwa were his immediate fields of activity, yet his ultimate aim remained the dominance and control over Northern India. Had he lived longer, he would have realised his cherished ideal of supremacy and paramountcy in the North. So the opinion that

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, Nos.73,75, Vol. III, No. 4.

his avowed declaration of planting the Maratha flag as far North as Attock was a politian's hyperbole may be accepted with caution. The contemporary records substantiate the fact of his Northern expansion as logical result of the policy he had set for himself and not as a convenient.[1]

In military genius Bajirao stands next only to Shivaji. During the twenty years of his active career there was a complete revolution in the character of the Maratha state and a complete redistribution of the political power throughout India. At the time of Bajirao's death in 1740 the political centre of gravity had shifted to the court of Shahu from the court of Delhi. The system which was introduced by Bajirao's father and implemented by him and his son equally transformed the constitution made by Shivaji and on the map of India many new centres of the Maratha power could be seen. Before him Shahu was a small raja of a small self-contained one race, one language kingdom like his father and grand father but now he was a monarch of a vast and diversified dominion.[2]

The relations between the Peshwa and his master have been thoroughly analysed by Dr. Dighe in his book. He has

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1. Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, pp.188-192.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 194-195.

written that "the methods of the sovereign and the Minister were different but their objective was the same. Shahu looked not to supplant the Mughal Emperor, he would rather be the Emperor's friend and mentor, would lend his sword arm to his support and thus acquire control over the imperial policy. The reverence felt by him for the throne of Chagtais expressed not the servility of a subordinate to his superior but the sympathy which a man of culture a noble soul feels for an ancient relic, for a losing cause. In the hands of Bajirao this attitude was rightly transformed into an attempt at political hegemony in the north, the sword arm of the Maratha state was wielded so ably by his Peshwa as to fulfil the wildest dream of the monarch. The Peshwa never forgot that his authority emanated from the Crown and had its roots in the confidence placed in him by the Sovereign. Some of the lesser chiefs resented the power thus acquired and failed to realize that what gave the Peshwa his preponderance in the royal council was the military strength acquired by him through years of successful warfare. It was equally open to them to raise armies and lead them to foreign conquests, but, like their master, they loved the repose of the Court and in consequence slowly faded into insignificance. Even the Raja on occasions felt the overgrown power of his Minister and expressed his displeasure in sharp reprimands."[1]

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[1] Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 183-184.

Bajirao had to continue a long struggle against Nizam-ul Mulk who was the first rebel to succeed against the Mughal Empire. The Emperor never had confidense in Nizam. The Nizam realized his weakness before Bajirao and did not want to enter into an open conflict with him. Raja Shahu always respected Nizam-ul-Mulk [illegible] the last representative of the rule of Aurangzeb and did not want to remove him from his position. Whenever Bajirao took any aggressive step against the Nizam, Shahu checked Bajirao from doing it. Shahu employed the Sumant and the Pratinidhi to keep a check on Bajirao to keep the Nizam at ease of mind. It is the main reason that the Nizam was permitted to remain a permanent cause of disturbanse in Deccan.[1]

A contemporary Marathi letter reveals the achievements of Bajirao. "Along with his father's blessing Bajirao inherited from him the great task of regneration that he had undertaken and he spent his life's effort in accomplishing it. viz., to bring pease and prosperity to the country, north of the Narmada as had been done to the territories south of that river. Bajirao tried to restore the Hindu religion to its former grandeur. It was his ambition to rebuild the great shrine of Kashi Vishveshwar at Banares. In these efforts he outshone his father in

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 184.

a far higher degree. He possessed uncommon valour and his fame spread widely as a re-creator of his nation."[1]

The main achievements of Bajirao I were that he established Maratha supremacy in the Deccan and political hegemony in the north Shivaji had created an independent Maratha state with the help of patriotic Maratha people. The Mughal government challenged the independent existence of the Maratha state, conquered its territories, defeated the armies and beheaded its ruler Shambhaji. The Maratha people regained their independence after a long struggle. But till the time they had a powerful neighbour like Nizam, they were not secure. Bajirao defeated the Nizam who was the representative of the Mughal and an important power in the Deccan. Bajirao compelled the Nizam to accept that he could never hope to weaken the Maratha power either by creating conflicts or by the help of arms till the time the Peshwa was leading the Maratha forces. The Nizam granted the claims of the Marathas of _chauth_ and _sardeshmukhi_ over his territory in the Deccan and his position became that of a subordinate. The maritime districts of Maharashtra were recaptured from the foreign powers. The Sidi was defeated and his power was permanently crippled. In north Konkan the authority of the Portuguese was destroyed and his province became a part of the Maratha state. The Maratha chiefs like Dabhade and others who tried to break away from the central authority with the help of the foreign rulers were given a very good lesson. Thus Bajirao gave the Maratha people a permanent position in the Deccan and secured their homeland from foreign invasions.

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[1] _Hingne Daftar_, Vol. I, No. 15; quoted in _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. II, pp. 184-185.

The policy of Bajirao extended beyond the security of his homeland. His aim was to establish Maratha hegemony beyond the Narmada. Bajirao realized that it was a high time when the Mughal authority could be easily challenged in the north. The Mughal Empire had lost its vitality and was fast declining and its political condition was becoming grave due to party politics. Bajirao immediately moved to grasp that power. He established his control on Malwa and Bundelkhand after defeating Giridhar Bahadur and Muhammad Khan Bangash. The victory of Bajirao over the Nizam at Bhopal defeated the last attempt of the Mughal government to snatch away Bajirao's northern conquests from him. He had now secured the basis from where he could direct further expansion. Within twenty years after the death of Bajirao the Maratha were the masters of the imperial capital, Delhi and dictators of Imperial policy.[1]

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[1] *Bajirao I and the Maratha Expansion*, pp. 203-204.

CHAPTER - II

THE MARATHA POLICY UNDER BALAJI BAJIRAO - THE FIRST PHASE, 1740-49 - STRESSES AND STRAINS

The Marathas had attacked, conquered and seized the provinces of Gujrat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Berar and other parts of the Empire. The Emperor had no other alternative except to grant them the rights of chauth and sardeshmukhi of different subahs of the Empire, because he did not possess the resources and strong force to drive them out from the territory which they had occupied.

The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao had to consolidate the conquests and to regularise the rights which were obtained during the Peshwaship of Bajirao and also to expand the Maratha State and influence either by conquest and annexation or by levying chauth and sardeshmukhi. But his ministers and Sardars did not serve him well. They were not united and fought against each other for personal gains and prestige. The Maratha generals and senior ministers were jealous to see the rising power of the young Peshwa.

Balaji's first object was to get the confirmation of the territorial gains and claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi obtained during the time of Bajirao. He had to repay the debt of about fourteen lakhs of rupees which Bajirao had taken to meet the expenditure of North Indian Campaigns. He had to continue war to fulfil these aims. He had to fight the enemies at home and defeat them. His policy of fresh campaigns in the North and the South required added arms and resources.[1]

The Peshwaship of Balaji Bajirao can be divided into two parts. During the first phase the Peshwa was controlled by Raja Shahu to some extent. The Raja tried to keep control over the direction and policy of Maratha affairs and war movements. He never went himself for any military campaign but he did not allow his Peshwa to introduce any change in the main principles of the state policy. He divided the work and the spheres of Maratha activities in the north and the south among the different ministers, generals and nobles to minimise the possibility of conflicts amongst them. His main aim was to bring under Maratha control or paramountcy the whole of India. He wanted Maratha arms to reach beyond Attock either in alliance with or as an agent of the Mughal Empire. It was possible either by taking the governorship of different provinces from the Emperor and ruling them directly or accepting annual tributes in the form of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, leaving the administration of the provinces in the hands of the officers of the Emperor but protecting them from foreign invasions.

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[1] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, p. 171; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 191.

This phase of Maratha policy suffered from a number of drawbacks. Shahu exercised some guiding influence in shaping it. The policy was half-hearted, weak and vacillating. It did not aim at or result in outright conquests and annexations. It shirked responsibilities. It was really the grabing of power without the assumption of responsibility. The outcome was that the Maratha policy lacked will, stability and coherance.[1]

In regard to dissensions at home the policy of Shahu was directed towards non-intervention and letting things drift towards an impasse. This was manifest from his attitude towards the conflicts of Peshwa with the Sardars and of the Maratha feuds interse particularly the controversies and disputes with and between Sindia and Holkar. Shahu did not allow the suppression of old ministers and Sardars at home even when they acted as traitors or rebelled against the State or entered into conspiracy with the enemies of the State or opposed the policies and plans of the Chief Minister during the wars.

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[1] *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp.173-174; *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 87; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp. 171-172; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II,p. 191.

Shahu's peace-oving nature is further exemplified by his refusal to concede an arrangement of the merger of Satara and Kolhapur States to take effect even after he was dead. He was not endowed with the vision and foresight which Shivaji possessed and could not forge the unity of the Maratha State and the centralization of its powers and administration. Balaji Bajirao had to move with this end in view while attempting to carry out his own plans of establishing a great Maratha State and Empire.

During the second phase Balaji Bajirao was free from the control of the Maratha king. Ram Raja was the successor of Shahu and was the posthumous son of Tarabai's son, Shivaji. He was brought up secretly in humble circumstances and was not given the training and ability of a ruler. He remained confined to his palace at Satara and had no control over the political affairs of the Maratha State. Balaji took full advantage of this acquiescence of the ruler.[1]

Besides the political problems involved in the feudal set-up of the Maratha State, Balaji Bajirao had to face a number of financial difficulties. There were not sufficient resources in the Maratha State to finance its increasing responsibilities and military expenses. The Maratha armies which were engaged in expansion and military advance depended on the tributes and contributions exacted from fallen foes who continued to keep possession of their power and territorial administration.

There were two main centres for political activities of the Marathas in the north and the south. East and west had not acquired much importance to them.

The Maratha success in the north were mainly due to the Peshwa and his new generals. The most prominent amongst them were Sindhias, Holkars, Pawars and Jadhavs. In the south, east and west the other Maratha ministers like *Pratinidhi* and *Sardars* like Bhosles, Dabhades, Angrias had their own interests, influence and power and these spheres were marked as their fields of operations. The Peshwa could not completely direct and keep control over the politics there. Shahu also did not allow him to do so. Even then the Peshwa Bajirao and Balaji Bajirao checked the Nizams, the Sidis as well as some rebellious *Sardars* and *jagirdars*, Dabhades, Gaikwads and Angrias in their conspiracies and aggressions against the Maratha state. The Marathas had no common will and policy, no united control and direction in military affairs and political administration and they could not build up a centrally directed and controlled Maratha State.[1]

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[1] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

During the first year of the Peshwaship of Balaji in 1741 the Emperor granted by a *farman* the Maratha claims and conquests in Malwa.[2] Gujrat was already conquered by Dabhades, Gaikwads and Peshwas. During Bajirao's time the Marathas had started interfering in the affairs of Bundelkhand, Rajputana and other parts of northern India as far as Delhi. During the period of Balaji, these activities were further extended to the north beyond Delhi into the Punjab as far as Attock, and to the east into the Doab, Awadh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The Peshwa and his Sardars worked in North India and Raghuji Bhonsle in the east. In the beginning there were conflicts in their policies and activities but later on Shahu divided their separate fields of activity. Still the Maratha power was not a single united entity of power. The aims, policies and interests were conflicting and overlapping. They fomented conspiracies and fought against one another. So Balaji was unable to centralise the power of the Maratha State into one hand and could not direct all affairs according to a common policy and a common plan.[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 496; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, entitled *Bajirao Peshwa and the events in the North, 1741-1761*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, No. 9; *Purandar Daftar*, Vol. I, ed. K.V. Purandare, Poona, Shaka 1861; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. I, entitled *Expansion of the Maratha Power (1707-1761)*, government Central Press, Bombay, 1957, No. 63; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, Intro. p.9.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86.

The main problems faced by Balaji in internal politics consisted of the continuous opposition by some old ministers and sardars, the succession problem and Tarabai's designs, financial problems and debts and the administrative arrangements of old and new conquests.

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[1] *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, G.S. Sardesai, K.P. Kulkarni and Y.N. Kale, Poona, 1933, Nos. 35,36; *Life of Shahu Maharaj the Elder*, No.74, p. 79; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. II, pp. 98-99; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 219-20.

In external politics his main objectives were to march and establish Maratha over-lordship over the whole of India, to exercise control over the Emperor of Delhi and to rule over Imperial provinces in the Emperor's name or to take the grant of annual chauth from them, to reduce the Deccan province in the subjugation of the Nizam, to establish supremacy over Karnatak rulers, to bring Bihar, Bengal and Orissa under Maratha influence and to levy chauth on them and to liberate the sacred place of the Hindus in the north from Muslim control. Balaji made some progress but his successes were mostly nullified by the new powers and alliances which appeared in Indian politics and by the internal disputes and conflicting aims of Maratha ministers and Sardars.

Balaji was not an active soldier as Bajirao was. He lacked dominant will and potential military qualities, keen foresight and sound financial resources to support his plans and objectives. So his achievements did not prove lasting. He had not enough resources to pay off his debts and meet ever-increasing military expenses because his wars and conquests did not effect any final result or settlement. He had to face same problems and dangers again and again and the result was that the energy and resources of the Maratha state were exhausted. There is no doubt in the fact that he kept Swarajya or the central part of the Maratha State independent and properly managed and its frontiers advancing and expanding but the new conquered territories were also to be consolidated and properly managed from the centre and the Peshwa was unable to do so. His energy and resources were exhausted in undertaking continuous external invasions and in the settlement of internal disputes.[1]

During that period there were number of wars of succession, overthrow of settled governments and usurpations in different parts of the country. The defeated and disaffected parties solicited Maratha help. In the territories lying North of Malwa the Marathas exhibited more interest in intervention and military succour with a view to grabing land, influence and money. They intermeddled in political affairs with the intention of making and unmaking the rulers of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab, Outh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the North. But in the Deccan and Karnatak provinces in the South they were more interested in capturing territory and making outright annexations as these regions fell within their power base.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp.189-190.

But these successes of the Marathas were not lasting because their policy was half-hearted. They did not establish their own regular rule nor could they attain success in regular realisation of their claims to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* or to large *jagirs*. Their attacks or acquisition of those territories did not effect any political adjustments of abiding nature or permanent financial sources.

Generally speaking the avowed Maratha policy comprehended the whole of India as one entity over which they sought to establish their supreme command and paramountcy but in actual execution of this policy their was glaring divurgence in treating different spheres of activity. The Maratha thought in terms of India as a whole and one. They adopted two types of policies for the North. The first was of conquest and annexation preceded by a demand for *chauth* as in Gujrat and Malwa and the other was of merely imposing *chauth* on invaded and conquered territories. This policy could not result in direct annexations and perpetuity of interests. So the Marathas could not achieve stability and permanent footheld in the areas of the expansion of the Maratha power in the North.[1]

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[1] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp. 174-175.

The whole Mughal Empire was divided into specific areas of influence and the military activity amongst Maratha military captains or Sardars. The Northern India was chiefly the file of the Peshwa and his generals, the Sindhias, Holkar and Pewars.[1]

After his accession to the Peshwaship, Balaji had to face a number of problems which required his immediate attention. Bajirao wanted to secure the Subahdari of Malwa which had almost come in his hands after his victory over the Nizam at Bhopal but due to the invasion of Nadir Shah and sudden death of the Peshwa it could not be implemented. The Peshwa Balajirao obtained the grant of Malwa from the Emperor. After the invasion of Nadir Shah the Maratha prestige at the court of Delhi received a set-back which was to be re-established. The affairs of the Deccan also suffered due to the interference of Nizam so he was to be rendered perfectly innocuous. The Sidis the Angrias, the portuguese and the English marred the smooth functioning of the Maratha government on the west-coast. So a permanent understanding with them was to be arrived at immediately.

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1. *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 496; *Selection From Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 63.

The Peshwa had all these objectives in his mind during the twenty one years of his Peshwaship which can be divided into two parts - the first of nine years ending with the death of Shahu and the second twelve years when he acted as the practical head of the Maratha State having transferred the whole administration from Satara to Poona.[1]

After the appointment of Balaji as Peshwa, Shahu collected all the principal nobles and officers of the State and impressed upon them to swear to help the new Peshwa in his plans and policies and condone any lapses on his part. All of them decided that the Peshwa himself should go to the North to assess the situation and make negotiations with the Nizam and Jai Singh.[3] Shahu issued the instructions to Balaji Bajirao to the effect that "After Balaji Pant the Eler, Bajirao achieved great deeds in the devoted service of the King. At length he began his work with the idea to crush the Iranis and establish an Empire. But his life was short. Being his son, you must complete

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 191.

2. *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa Diaries, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa*, ed. D.B. Parasnis, Poona 1907 Vol. I, No. 124; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 491; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, ed. V.K.Rajwade, Vol. I, No. 7.

3. *Shahu Maharaj Yanchi Bakhar*, *Bharat Varsha*, February and March, 1900, p. 77; *New History of the Marathas* Vol. II, pp. 194-195.

his policy of conquering the whole of Hindustan and establish an Empire and lead your horse beyond Attock."[1]

Shahu achieved success through his mild persuasive policy. A letter tells about the policy chalked out by Shahu for his leaders, "Look here, you have no money in hand, nor have we; your own strong bodies are your only asset. But if you read the situation alright, you can create lucrative fields for yourselves and help build up a Maratha dominion into the bargain. All the Mughal territory is yours if you will go and capture it. Borrow funds, form your fighting material, roam wherever you like, establish posts, settle and colonize them, build your own palaces and capitals; hold them tenaciously against all odds; start your own banks, and trading businesses, foster agriculture, capture distant markets. But do all this in a spirit of self help and goodwill to all. Do no wanton injury to anybody and make yourselves welcome wherever you go. Thus will our nation rise."[1] Shahu's policy was accepted and put into action. Dabhade acted in Gujrat, Raghoji Bhosle in Nagpur, the Pawars were settled at Dhar and Dewas, the Holkars at Indore, Sindias at Ujjain and Bundelkhand was also colonized.[2]

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[1] *Life of Shahu Mahraj the Elder*, pp. 77-78; *New History of the Marathas*, pp. 201-202 quotes "Baji rao served the state loyally on the lines laid down by his father and expanded the Maratha dominions by means of many a heroic deed. When Nadir Shah devastated Delhi, Bajirao was despatched to restore the Emperor to his seat, but was cut off by fate in the midst of his life. You are his son and must carry to completion his half finished work by extending the Maratha prestige to the frontier of Attock."

During the year 1735 Balaji had come to northern India with Pilaji Jadhav and from the very beginning followed and promoted the policy of Maratha expansion devised by his ancestors.[3]

On the assumption of the Peshwaship, Balaji planned to proceed to the north to examine the situation there which was disturbed by the invasion of Nadir Shah and to secure the grant of Subahdarship of Malwa which was promised by Nizam-ul-Mulk.[4]

On 23rd of November 1740, the Peshwa marched from Poona towards the north.[5] Nazir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk had rebelled in Deccan. The Peshwa and the Nizam wanted each other's help. Peshwa wanted the possession of Malwa and the Nizam wanted that Peshwa should not join his son. On 7th January 1741 the Peshwa and the Nizam had a meeting at Edlabad on Purna in Khandesh. The Peshwa demanded from the Nizam the grant of Malwa and fifty lakhs of rupees. As Nizam was appointed the *Subahdar* of Malwa by the Emperor, he was ready to appoint the Peshwa as his deputy there. Nizam told the Peshwa that he would try to secure the grant of fifty lakhs of rupees from the Emperor. The Peshwa agreed to help the Nizam against his rebellious son and fifteen lakhs of rupees were granted by the Nizam to the Peshwa for the expenses.[1]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 280-281.
[2] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 281.
[3] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 190.
[4] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 191.
[5] Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. II, p. 83,90; [illegible], Vol. IV, p. 28; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 191.

The Peshwa now marched towards the north to seize Malwa in 1741. The Emperor appointed Sawai Jai Singh, *Subahdar* of Agra with the object to repel Peshwa's invasion. The Peshwa sent his officers in the Doab and himself moved towards Dholpur. Jai Singh found himself incapable to face the Maratha forces and sent Apamal with a message of friendship and for a meeting with the Peshwa.[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 38 says that the meeting continued till 13th January 1741; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.12, p. 90; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 87, p. 87; *Seir-Mutaqherin*, Vol. IV, p. 22; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, Nos. 19,20,23; In No. 23 dated 26th February 1741 Asaf Jah writes to Hingne that "The *sanad* of Malwa including all the forts and the territory on this side of the Chambal and the Rajas under control, I will bring to you. Rs. 15 lakhs should be given from the Imperial treasury it was agreed. I will give you twenty lakhs. After collecting the money from the important places, a small part would be given to the Emperor, the rest would be divided between you and me, thus your debts would be paid. You want to take possession of Prayag and Varanasi after the abolition of taxes there. That will also be done."

A meeting was held near Dholpur between Jai Singh and the Peshwa from 12th to 19th May 1741.[2] Both of them discussed the matters and an agreement was arrived at with the provisions (1) Jai Singh and the Peshwa should remain friendly and help each other (2) The Marathas to remain loyal to the Emperor (3) To secure the *sanad* of the grant of Malwa to Peshwa within six months (4) The provision stipulated that Jai Singh would safeguard the interests of all the Sardars, north of the Chambal whose names were enumerated by Balaji. On their part these Sardars would not differentiate in looking to the interests of the Emperor and showing loyalty to him.[3]

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1. *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 149.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 2; *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 2 No. 91; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 149 says that the Peshwa went into the camp of JaiSingh and next day Jai Singh came in Peshwa's camp; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 19 dated 26th February 1741. In this letter the Peshwa wrote to Hingne, "I have already informed you of my visit to Nizam-ul-Mulk. You must have communicated to Raj Rajendra Sawai Jai Singh how I am earnestly striving to carry out the Imperial undertakings of my father. Sawaiji has agreed to obtain Imperial *Sanads* for the *Subah* of Malwa together with all the fortified places therein and the acknowledgement of our sovereignty over the local chiefs on this side of Chambal. He has also agreed to obtain a cash payment of 20 lakhs from the Imperial treasury, the remittance of pilgrims tax at Prayag and the cession of Benares. You must impress upon Sawaiji that in our hearty cooperation lies his interest as well as ours." *Ibid*, No. 23.

3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86.

Jai Singh went to Delhi and told the Emperor all about the circumstances. On the advice of Jai Singh the Emperor Mohammad Shah issued a *farman*. Prince Ahmad Shah was appointed the *Subahdar* of Malwa while the deputy governership was given to the Peshwa. The Peshwa was also granted the whole management and complete jurisdiction of the Subah of Malwa.[1] In September 1741, the Peshwa was also granted the *chauth* over the states, south of the Chambal. The *chauth* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was assigned to him to satisfy his demand of fifty lakhs of rupees. The amount of fifteen lakhs of rupees granted by the Nizam to the Peshwa was to be paid in three instalments.[2]

Bajirao gave an undertaking in writing to the effect that : (1) He will meet the Emperor (2) The Marathas will not create disturbances in any Imperial territory except strengthening their hold over Malwa (3) The Peshwa was to see to it that no Maratha forces should cross the Narmada. If it was done, the Peshwa will be responsible for it. (4) The Peshwa will not demand any additional money except that already stipulated (5) A Maratha general with five hundred horse was to be sent to serve the Emperor at Delhi (6) In case of need a contingent of 5,000 Maratha troops would be sent to join the Imperial army. If the Emperor will call more troops for his help, he will bear their expenses. (7) He will not demand anything except the *nazar*, *peshkash* of the *zamindars* across the Chambal. (8) He will make arrangement to send 4,000 force to punish the recalcitrant zamindars (9) The Marathas will not make any distrubrance in the lands of *inam* and *jagirs* which were assigned for religious and charitable purposes.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XV, No. 86; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol. IV, No. 21.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp.238-239.

Thus an alliance was made between the Marathas and the Emperor. Freedom was given to the Marathas in the Deccan. The Marathas agreed not to create distrubances in Imperial northern possessions and to provide help in times of danger.[2]

In 1738, Shahu granted to Raghunathrao the right to collect *Chauth* from the *Subahs* of Maqsudabad, Bitiya, Lucknow, Bihar, Bengal and Allahabad, i.e. Pryag and granted a *sanad* for it.[3] Due to the jealousy of Raghuji

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XV, No. 86; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol. IV, No. 16; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 172-173.

2. *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 496; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 239.

3. *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, No. 436; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 207.

Bhosle to the Peshwa, the latter asked Raja Shahu the need of strengthening Maratha position not only in Malwa and Bundelkhand but in the territories beyond on the eastern side. A conflict arose between Raghuji and the Peshwa as both were trying to capture the eastern territory.

At the end of the year 1742 the Peshwa left Bundelkhand and marched against Raghuji passing through the province of Allahabad, Gaya and finally to Murshidabad on the request of the Emperor to move towards Bengal and Bihar and help Alivardi Khan in driving out the Marathas from there.[1] The Emperor accepted the demand of the Peshwa for the *chauth* of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Allahabad and ordered Alivardi Khan to provide for the expenses of the Peshwa.[2]

The Peshwa agreed to enter into Emperor's service with the objectives of defeating Bhosle on one side and on the other side to deal effectively with the northern

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1. *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 150; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, entitled *Letters and despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat*,Government Central Press, Bombay, 1930 No. 10; *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol. IV, Nos. 23,24; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 216.
2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 216-217; says that the agreement was that Alivardi Khan should pay Rs. 22 lakhs to the Peshwa for his expenses (2) The Nawab should pay the annual *chauth* of Bengal to Chhatrapati (3) Both should jointly expel Raghuji from the province.

possessions of the Emperor.[1] The Peshwa was successful in routing Raghuji for some time.[2] On 31st August 1743 Peshwa and Raghuji singed an agreement at Satara . By this agreement "the four *Subahs* of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad as well as the estates of Sundersha and Bhojpur including Dauduagar in Subah Bihar i.e. the tract lying west of Patna and east of Allahabad and yielding twelve lakhs rupees a year were assigned to the Peshwa while Raghuji was to enjoy the two Subahs of Bengal and Oudh and all Bihar except the *mahals* yielding twelve lakhs reserved for the Peshwa and each of these two were strictly forbidden to interfere in the others spheres."[3]

The Peshwa appointed Malhar Holkar, Ranoji Sindia and Yashwant Rao Pawar for the security of the territory between Narmada and Yamuna. All of them decided that the captured territory will be divided among them and they will work mutually after collecting the forces. Out of the collected revenue from this territory 31% would be opportioned to Holkar, 30% to Sindia and 9% to Pawar. They

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 215.
2. *Aitihasik Farsi Sahitya*, Vol. IV, No. 24; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 217.
3. *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, Nos. 35,36; *Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*, No. 74, p. 79; *Marathvansha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. II, pp. 98-99; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 219-220.

had to serve the Emperor's territory loyally and to attack all those rajas who were not friendly with Maratha government. Bundelkhand was captured and an agreement was concluded with the Rajas. Govind Ballal Bundela was appointed as Kamavisdar to realise the Maratha dues in Bundelkhand. Ujjain went under the collection of Sindia and Indore under Holkar, while Dhar was given to Pawars. Mahadev Bhat Hingne was left as Maratha vakil at Delhi.[1]

Maratha Incursions Into Bundelkhand:

During the rainy season of 1742 the Peshwa encamped in Bundelkhand and sent a force under Jotiba Sindia to collect *chauth* from Bir Singh, a Bundela chief as he had not paid the *chauth* for some time. In November 1742, one night Bir Singh attacked the Maratha camp. Jotiba and Malhar Krishna were murdered and their camp and baggage was plundered.[2] Now the Peshwa sent Naro Shankar against him. He attacked Orchha and imprisoned Bir Singh in the hill fort of Jhansi. Bir Singh opened negotiations.

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1. *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 496; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 9; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 63 also says that Malhar Holkar, Ranoji Sindia and Yashwant Rao Pawar were encamped in Malwa; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 154; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 9.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 5; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 230.

Orchha was returned to him and he was set free. Jhansi came into Maratha possession. Naro Shankar took the post of governor of Jhansi and remained on this post till 1756.[1]

The third expedition of the Peshwa took place in 1744. The Peshwa went towards the north and after finishing work at Malwa looked towards Bundelkhand as the Chief of Datia, Orchha, Bhadawar, Chanderi, Jaitpur, Kalinjar, Panna and other places had opposed the Marathas. The Marathas took the advantage of the internal joulousies of these chiefs.[2]

After the arrival of Maratha in the year 1745-46 one half of the territory of Pritisingh, Raja of Vodase, was taken by the Marathas.[3]

In 1748 Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia also reached Bundelkhand. These two Sardars with Naro Shankar attacked Churki and captured it. The Churki chief was killed. The village of Vota, Ataria and Musmaria were

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. pp.230-31.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 7,8; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 232.
3. *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa Diaries, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa*, Vol. I, No. 28.

given to the family of Churki chief. In return they agreed to serve the Marathas with their forces. Laxmanpant remained for the arrangement of Kalpi province.[1]

Early in 1745 Raja Sabha Singh Bundela had created troubles in Bundelkhand.[2] Laxman Pant and Govind Pant went to the places of Kalpi, Mahoba and Koach Kanar. An agreement for twenty five lakhs of rupees was made with Sabha Singh. He also agreed to give three elephants.[3]

The matters at Bundelkhand took a long time to be settled. Jayapa Sindia and Malhar Holkar besieged Jaitpur Jaitpur was conquered on 5th May 1746.[4] The Jaitpur fort was given for the managament to Laxman Shankar. A treaty was concluded between the Peshwa and Jagatraj Bundela. Orders were issued for the transfer of the fort to Jagatraj.[5]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, entitled *Bajirao Peshwa and the events in the North* (Supplementary), 1742-1761, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Press, Bombay, 1933, Nos. 12,13,14,15; Vol. XXI, No. 13; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II,p. 230.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI , No.21.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 16.
4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 17; Vol. XXI, No. 14; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera*, Nos. 51,5; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, ed. A.B. Phalke, Gwalior, 1929, Nos. 49,50-54, In no. 53 Jayapa writes that we have encamped in Bundelkhand and captured the amal of the whole territory; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, Nos. 42,44; *Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen* (1766-1795), Vol. I, ed. B.P. Thakur, Indore, 1944; No.66; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar, New Series*, Vol. I, No. 74.
5. *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwas Diaries, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa*, Vol. I, No. 27.

In 1746-47 one third portion of the territory of Raja Sabha Singh and Jagatraj comprising certain villages in *pargana* Erich was taken by the Maratha government. Govind Ballal was appointed tax-collector in the territory of Sabha Singh and Laxman Shankar in the territory of Jagatraj.[1] The place of Antri was also conquered on 24th January 1747 but the matter of Narwar could not be settled.[2]

In June 1747 Pandurang Shivdav Purandare was sent to collect tribute from Narwar but failed due to lack of forces. The Peshwa ordered Malhar Holkar to go to Narwar to collect the tribute.[3]

In January 1748 Jayapa Sindia and Ramchandra Baba went to Bundelkhand and established their posts in Tejgarh, Hate etc. Then they marched towards Datia.[4]

After settling the tribute From Datia, the two Maratha Sardars Sindia and Holkar encamped in Narwar and captured about twenty five places over there. The fort of

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1. *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa*, Vol.I, No. 28.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 22, 23.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No.18; Vol. XXVII, No. 62.
4. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No.30.

Salbai was inpregnable. Both the places of Salbai and Lohgarh were conquered by the Marathas.[1]

In June 1749 Vithal Shivdev had come to Bhadawar to recover Naro Shankar's posts of Jhansi, Datia, Bhadawar Kachhwadhar etc. which could not be captured without forces.[2] Chimnaji Baman with one thousand Sawar and Khando Moreshwar went to collect the remaining tribute from Jhansi and Datia.[3] Vithal Shivdev occupied some posts at Narwar and arranged the matters at Alapur, Somawali, Jatawar, Dandroli but could not capture the posts of Salbai, Lohgarh and Chinore etc. Vithal Shivdev went upto the boundry of Bhadawar. After Dashara Chimnaji Baman marched from Jhansi and besieged Sudhar in Kachhwadhar and summoned Vithal Shivdev to join the expedition. Vithal Shivdev joined Chimnaji and captured about five or seven posts including Sikri, Sudhar, Arun.[4]

Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali:

Ahmad Shah Abdali reached near Lahore early in January 1748. The Emperor sent letters to Shahu to send

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 26; Vol. XXVII, No. 41; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. I, No. 103.
2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 44-47,54.
3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 53,58.
4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 54,58-60.

a force for his help immediately. Shahu at once ordered the Peshwa to move towards Delhi to help the Emperor.[1] Before his arrival at Delhi the forces of the Emperor under Prince Ahmad with the Vazir defeated Abdali at Manupur on March 3rd 1748. The Peshwa visited the Emperor and talked with him. The Emperor was very much pleased and satisfied with the behaviour of the Peshwa.[2] The Peshwa soon marched from Delhi to Jaipur but he was not able to settle the affairs there finally. He had to return to the Deccan soon due to the falling health of Raja Shahu who expired on 15th December 1749.[3]

With the death of Shahu, a glorious reign in the History of Maharashtra came to an end and with that too the first phase of the Peshwaship of Balaji Bajirao in which he had personally led expeditions towards the north came to an abrupt close.

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXI,No.20,Vol. II, No.8, Vol.XXVII,29,30. Purandare Daftar, Vol.I,No.183; Tahmasp Nama, Miskin,(Eng.Tr.),P. Setu Madhava Rao, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1967, p. 8.
2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXVII,No.29, Vol. XXI, No.21; Vol.II,No.9; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 65; Purandare Daftar, Vol.I, No.219, says that the Imperial forces have defeated the Pathan forces; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol.I,No.98. The writer Trimbak Hari says that he had only two thousand force. The small number of force prevented him from proceeding to Delhi to assist the Emperor against Abdali, Seir Mutaqherin, Vol.III, pp.259-262; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. tr.),p.8. The writer has given the date 11th March 1748 for the battle of Manupur.
3. Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa Diaries, Balaji Bajirao, Vol.I,Nos.123,124,127; Aitihasik Patren Wagere, No.401; Aitihasik Sangraha, Prachin Maratha Sardar, p.2 says that after the death of Shahu in 1749 all the power was transferred into the hands of the Peshwa.

The consequences of these expeditions launched by Balaji Bajirao were not impressive or spectecular, nor were they of any abiding or decisive nature in furthering the Maratha designs of establishing paramountry in Northern India. The Marathas had to carry on their depredations to exact *chauth* and the tributes stipulated with local or Imperial authorities. The Rajput Princes too, who had welcomed the Marathas at the earlier stage to fight against the Mughal officers and to settle their internal disputes, had now been disgruntled and alienated due to self centred policies of the Marathas. The Maratha Sardars played a dubious game of siding with the opposite sides in the arena of conflicts and went on increasing their financial demands thereby entailing heavy pecuniary burden on the dwindling resources of the local chieftains or governors. They did little towards a final settlement, tranquillity or gearing out the administrative machinery of the regions. Their demands were swelling day by day and the policy pursued by them during this phase ending with the death of Raja Shahu in 1749, was vacillating and erratic.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II,No.9; *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhanen*, Vol. VI, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Nos. 190,191, [illegible]; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p.177.

CHAPTER - III

THE MARATHA POLICY UNDER BALAJI BAJIRAO, 1749-1761
FULFILMENT AND SETBACK

With the death of Shahu on 15th December 1749 ended the first phase of the Maratha policy under Balaji Bajirao. In this phase the State policy was to a large extent guided of the prejudices and predilections of Raja Shahu. This period is devoid of spectacular gains but in the actual implementation and diversification of Maratha policies and adventures the stamp of the Peshwa's personality and the low profile of differences and conflicting ambitions of the Maratha Sardars interse is discernible.[1]

The second and the more important phase of Balji Bajirao's state policies begins with the death of Shahu in 1749 and lasts upto the end of Peshwa's life in 1761.[2] This phase is momentous because it witnessed the climax of Bajirao's dreams of ascendency from Maharashtra to Attock and the glorification of Maratha arms in all direction. But it betrays the inherent weakness and shortcomings of their political, military and administrative systems as well as the ephemeral nature of their power-base in establishing an Empire without attending to the fundamental requirements of enforcing an efficient administrative machinery[1] and bossting agriculture, industry and arts of peace to secure a permanent source of uninterrupted flow of money and riches to feed their exploits and supply the sinews of war. These lapses and shortcomings led to the stifling of the Maratha attainments and the ultimate catastrophe of 1761 came as a natural outcome. It could have been averted if the Marathas would have won the confidence of the varions North Indian powers - Muslim and non-Muslim, settled the country, befriended the local population and looked to the welfare of the peasantry. The association of the name 'Mahratta with plunder, forcible exactions of tribute, levying of excessive demands in utter neglect of the other parties, capacity to pay and ever-increasing Maratha claims, though they filled the coffers of the Maratha claims with money, yet they alienated the feelings of cooperation and responsive sympathies among the North Indian chiefs, nobles, *zamindars* and the peasantry. The word Marathas became synonymous of a plunder, a persecutor

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[1] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 265-267, 375-376, 458-459; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p.509; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 188-189.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 191.

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 282-468.

and they were styled as bargis. The protectors of Hindu reigion, society and sponsors of Hindu ascendency never spared even the Hindus of their oppressive exactions.[1] The Rajput chiefs, the Jats, the Bundelas and others were disheartened. The defenders of the Mughal Empire looked to their own restricted interests only.[2]

The Abdali and the Marathas came into conflict because of their inconsistences in their selfish interests. The Marathas coveted Punjab as a natural corollery to their scheme of aggrandisement and ascendency over the most productive and lucrative of all provinces. The Abdali too needed a firm hold over the Punjab to secure as a perennial source of income and resources to provide the economic base of the vast Empire and the large army he had to constantly maintain with a view to safeguarding his eastern provinces as well as to overawe opposition in the Western region upto Delhi and beyond. Hence the two powers with the same but irreconcible claims were bound to come to an inevitable and bloody clash which assumed enormous proportions in the famous battle of Panipat in 1761.[1]

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[1] *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 96; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II,pp.459-460; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.VIII 509-515,560-562; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 188-189.

[2] *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol I, Introduction, 96; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp. 560-562.

Had the power of the Abdali been smashed up in consequence of that battle, the apex of Maratha power and arms could have been attained because all other contemporary powers in India would have passed silently under Maratha paramountry and the symbol of the Mughal Empire could have been retained as a convenient pawn in the Maratha game to sanctify their supremacy and legalise their manifold arrangements. But the disaster that overtook the Maratha fate was the outcome of their own faults and feelings, lack of vision and disconcerting councils at home. In fact lack of strength, solidarity and cohesion at home and among the energetic Maratha Sardars guided by personal ambitions and prone to carving out spheres of influence and power constituted the most glaring and disastrous weakness in the Maratha Imperial adventure.[2]

Balaji Bajirao in spite of his best endeavours, his indomitable will to execute plans and the best of intentions met with failure and ultimately death because of factors not of his making but inherent in the Maratha politics and military system.[3]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp.371-372, 461-462.
2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp.301-302; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp.188-189.
3. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp. 560-562, 567-568.

To revert to the Maratha politics at home and to lay here the intrecacies of the complex situation in the homeland references may be made to certain facts.

Shahu had died on 15th December 1749. Peshwa Balaji wanted to create one Maratha State by uniting Kolhapur and Satara States. So he had agreed secretly to support Shambhaji, the King of Kolhapur, in his succession to Satara in the event of Shahu's death. But Shahu did not want the union. He appointed Ram Raja, Tara Bai's grandson, as his successior. Thus the war of succession in the Maratha Kingdom was avoided but Kolhapur and Satara remained two separate States.[1] Ram Raja was weak and incompetent and only a puppet in the hands of Tara Bai. With the result the power of the State gradually passed into the hands of the Peshwa.[2]

By the end of 1749 Balaji became free from the control of Raja Shahu and from the succession affairs in 1751.[3] The new ruler Ram Raja was an unimportant person.

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[1] Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Balaji Bajirao, Vol. I, Nos. 123, 124, 127; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera, No. 491; Aitihasik Sangraha, Prachin Maratha Sardars, p. 2; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 287-288.

[2] Aitihasik Sangraha, Prachin Maratha Sardars, p. 2; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 288.

[3] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 272, 290-292.

He was totally confined to his palace and was not permitted to take any active part in the affairs of the State first by Tara Bai and later on by Balaji.[1]

However, the legacy of Balaji was not a happy one. There was no concept of a centralised and integrated State. The Maratha State was a loose combination of feudal entities. Only in the Swaraj territory there was some centralised and integrated administration. The outlying parts of the State were governed by the military Sardars to whom they were assigned as military grants or Sarnjams.[2]

During the second phase of Balaji's regime, his aims and objectives were the same. However, he was more free to direct his policy[3] and wanted to finish many old problems both in the North and in the South. The new dangers which emerged during this time were the conquests made by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Punjab and the military interference of the French and the English in the politics of north and the south.[4]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp. 290-294; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.VIII, p. 182.
2. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.VIII, pp. 226-230; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, pp. 188-189.
3. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, p.273.
4. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, p.300.

In order to free himself from domestic problems, the Peshwa made an agreement with Ram Raja at Sangola in December 1750. It clearly defined the claims and spheres of different ministers and Sardars.[1] On 24th November 1750, Tara Bai put Ram Raja into confinement. After that Ram Raja ceased to be an active or guiding factor in the politics of the Maratha State.[2]

The years 1748 and 1749 are very important in the political history of India both in the north and in the south. During this period the Indian politics was primarily concentrated around personalities and not centred or based on ideologies or institutions. The death of Emperor Muhammad Shah in April, 1748, of Nizam-ul-Mulk in May 1748 and of Shahu on 15th December 1749 removed men of old traditions and great influence. The Anglo-French wars and their successful interference in Indian politics and Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions and temporary conquests created new dangers and introduced new forces in Indian politics. The old world of Mughal Supremacy practically ended and a new order arose in which usurpations, seizures, selfish ambitions by the nawabs and Nizams, ministers and Sardars were the order of the day. There was not a single power like the Mughal Emperor dominating over India but a number of usurping powers, ministers and Sardars held that power separately and used it against the unity and defence of the Empire itself in their own dynastic and narrow feudal interests. This age may be called the age of adventurous Vazirs, and Peshwas or Prime Ministers, in the north as well as in the south, or of Subahdars and Sardars. The Mughal Emperor in the north and the Maratha King in the south had become puppets or unimportant persons in the politics of the country. They had no capability or strength and proved mere phantoms and non-entities and unworthy successors of their famous predecessors and ancestors.[1]

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[1] *Itihasa Sangraha, Peshwa Daftaratil Mahiti*, pp. 321-351; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp. 290-291; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.VIII, p. 182.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp.290-291.

The Emperors of Delhi had asked for Maratha help against foreign invaders like Nadir Shah in 1739 and against Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1749. Baji Rao had marched but could not reach in time to fight against Nadir Shah.[2] Balaji Bajirao

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1. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 184.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXX, No. 222; *Marathyanche Itihasachi Sadhanen*, Vol. IV, pp.42-43; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp.165-166; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 237.

arrived at Jaipur in 1747 but before the arrival of his forces near Delhi Abdali was defeated.[1] The Vazirs of the Emperor also sought the help of the Marathas against their rivals from the time of Bajirao.During the time of Balaji a Maratha force was stationed at Delhi, according to the agreement in 1752, to serve the Emperor and his Vazir. Gradually the Maratha influence in Delhi politics went on increasing. Later on, the Maratha help was also sought against the Afghans in Doab and against Ahmad Shah Abdali in Punjab.[2]

The Peshwa had permanently placed his Sardars — Sindia, Holkar, Pawars and other officers, administrators and representatives in important parts of north India. Ranoji Sindia, the founder of the Sindia house died in 1745. His son Jayapa and Dattaji continued their father's work in the north as the military generals of the Peshwa. Malhar Holkar carried on Maratha military adventures in the north, specially in Malwa, Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab and the Delhi region. Other Sardars and officers were engaged in minor and restricted theatres of war.[3]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos.20,21; Vol. II, Nos. 8,9; Tahmasp Nama, (Eng. tr.), p.9.
2. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhanen, Vol.I, No.1; New History of the Marathas, Vol.II, pp. 365-366.
3. Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No.476; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. I, No. 63.

Balaji did not go himself to the north after his return from Jaipur in 1748. His Sardars and representatives were carrying on military and diplomatic activities on his behalf to secure for him financial and territorial gains and to advance his political interests and supremacy in the north. Balaji remained in contact with northern politics through correspondence. He had sent his envoys to different courts.[1]

During the second phase of Balaji's regime, four main expeditions were organised in the north - the first two under the command of Raghunathrao, the third one under Dattaji Sindia and the last one under Sadashiv Rao Bhau. The Emperors of Delhi and the Vazirs had asked for Maratha help in their internal conflicts and against foreign invaders. The Peshwa's immediate aim in undertaking these expeditions was to collect the vast sums of money promised by north-Indian rulers and governors.

Conspiracy Against Safdarjang:

In June 1748 the Court made a conspiracy to remove Safdarjang from his Vizarat. They also called Nasir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk from the Deccan for help.[1] Safdarjang wrote a letter to the Peshwa for help through Mahadev Bhat Hingne. Safdarjang was ready to pay their expenses. When the Peshwa received this order, he ordered Sindia and Holkar to move towards south to check the movement of Nasir Jang from coming to Delhi. In 1749 Sindia and Holkar went to Kota to prevent Nasir Jang from coming to Delhi.[2] The Emperor now ordered Nasir Jang to go back to Deccan and promised friendly relations with Safdarjang.[3] The Maratha Sardars went to the Jat country.[4]

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[1] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 476; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 63; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 301-302.

Abdali's Invasion of November 1749:

In November 1749 Abdali again crossed the river Jhelam to attack Punjab. Muin-ul-Mulk marched from Lahore. After a battle pease was established and the annual revenue of the four mahals of Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad amounted to fourteen lakhs of rupees was granted to Abdali. Abdali returned to Kabul.[5]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No.13; Hingne Daftar, Vol. I,No.40; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, (Persian text), 18b, 35b, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp. 221-22.

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar,Vol.II, Nos. 120,13; Hingne Daftar, Vol.I, No. 40; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp.221-23; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi(Pers. text), 18b, 36b.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II,Nos.13,127; Hingne Daftar, Vol.I, No. 40; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi (Pers. text), 66b.

[4] Hingne Daftar, Vol.I, Nos. 35, 36.

[5] Tarikh-i Ahmad Shahi (Pers. text),p.8; Tahmasp Nama (Eng.tr.), pp.11-12, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 262-63.

Safdarjang and the Rohillahs:

While Safdarjang was busy in these affairs at Delhi, the Pathans under Ahmad Khan Bangash attacked Navalrai, the deputy of Safdarjang in Oudh, at Khudaganj on 13 August 1750. He was killed in the battle.[1]

Now Safdarjang himself marched to face the Afghans. On 13th September 1750, in a battle between Safdarjang and Pathans at Ram Chatauni in Doal, the Vazir was defeated and severely wounded. Vazir's whole force was plundered.[2]

Safdarjang went to Delhi and took Council from his friends. They suggested to him to enter into an alliance with the Marathas.[3] On their suggestion he sent his agents Raja Jughal Kishore and Raj Narain to bring Malhar Holkar for his help to cursh the Pathans.[4] Holkar and Sindia were

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, Nos. 14a,14; *Seir Mutaqherin*, (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, p. 291; *Imad-us Sadat*, (Pers. text), Ghulam Ali Naqvi,p.48.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, Nos. 20,21, 23,24 letter No, 21, 24 say that the Vazir was killed in this battle which is wrong; Vol. XXI, Nos. 32,36, Vol. XXVII, No. 77; *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, pp. 296-297; *Imad-us Sadat*, (Pers. text), p. 49; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 26b.

3. *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol.III, p. 304; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 361.

4. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 28; Vol. XXVII, No. 66, *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, pp. 304-306.

at Jaipur this time. They enthroned Madho Singh on the Jaipur throne early in January 1751. After this the Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar back to Deccan for a campaign to drive the Nizam out of Deccan. But when Holkar and Sindia received the news that they have to go for the help of Vazir and asked for the order of the Peshwa.[1]

In February 1751, Sindia and Holkar marched from Jaipur for the help of the Vazir.[2] The Vazir himself marched from Delhi. After two days Holkar joined him.[3] He took Sindia and Holkar into his service on the payment of twenty five thousand or thirty five thousand of rupees per day. At the same time he agreed to pay fifteen lakhs of rupees to Surajmal Jat for his help.[4]

The Maratha generals Sindia and Holkar with twenty five thousand strong force defeated Shadil Khan, the Bangash Governor of Koil and Jalesar at Qadirganj near Etawa. Shadil Khan took the flight.[5]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI , No. 40.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 64, 65, *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 52 tells that Malharrao and Jayapa have been sent to the north.
3. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Vol. 3, No. 375; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 41; Vol. XXVII, No. 65; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 10.
4. *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr. Vol. 3, p. 305; *Imad-us-Sadat* (Pers. text), pp. 56-57.
5. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 32; Vol. XXI, No. 48; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera*, Nos. 79, 82, 86, *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, p. 305.

Then the Vazir and the Marathas marched to kill Ahmad Khan Bangash who was hurriedly coming from Allahabad towards Farrukhabad for its defence.[1] The Marathas finding no force in Farrukhabad went in the city and started plundering it.[2]

In April 1751 Ahmad Khan joined Sadulla Khan and started a battle with the Vazir. The Marathas and the Jats attacked the enemy. A large number of Afghans were killed in the battle field. A large amount of plunder and material came into the hands of the Marathas. The Pathans continued their flight and marched towards the foot of the hills. The Marathas plundered the whole Rohillah country.[3]

On hearing the news of the Abdali's invasion of Punjab the Emperor wrote the Vazir to finish the war with the Pathans and to conclude peace. Before the arrival of this letter, the Vazir started peace negotiations. "Qanauj,

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[1] *Selection From Peshva Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 32; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 79; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, A.B. Phalke, Vol.3, No.[illegible]; *Seir Mutacherin* (Eng. tr.),Vol.3, p. 305.

[2] *Seir Mutacherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol.3, pp. 304-305.

[3] *Seir Mutacherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 306-307; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, Nos. 79,83; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 13,96; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 383 says that Mansur Ali Khan came to Farrukhabad with Malharji and a great battle was fought near Farrukhabad.

Akbarpurshah and other possessions of the Bangash family were put in possession of Govind Pant Bundele, the Maratha agent."[1]

Thus at this complicated moment the Maratha protected the Imperial prestige by defeating the Afghans. Their aim in these activities was both religious and political. They wanted to take the Hindu religious places of Kashi and Prayag in their possession from the hands of the Muslims.[2] Their idea was to increase their political supremacy as they could get freedom in religious matters through this.

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1. Seir Mutagherin (Eng. tr.), Vol.3, pp. 307-308; Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3 No. 383. The letter says that Nawab Became very kind. He gave Rs. 3 crores and the territory of rupees 25 lakhs in Doab; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No.86 says that terms are going on with the Vazir for Kashi and Prayag; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 90; The writer Jayapa Sindia says that the Taluka of Pathans and the territory of Kashi etc. Jagir has been given to us. Farman has been issued. After appointing a Kamavisdar in each pargana and laying the country under contribution, I am capturing them......"No. 96.

2. Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 83; Select Articles, G.H. Khare, p. 114 writes that "the Marathas demanded the places of Kashi and Prayag from Safdarjang. He granted them Sanads for these places and asked the Emperor to issue a farman to the Marathas. Holkar even wanted to destroy the mosque built near the temple of Vishvanath at Benaras and reconstruction of the temple by force, but he dropped this idea. The Marathas tried to take the possession of these plaøes but the circumstances changed. Safdarjang revolted and the Marathas were in favour of Ghaziuddin II and the Emperor. They could not take the possession of these two places. The new Vazir Ghaziuddin granted the Sanad of Benares and 140 townships and villages round about it to the Marathas. Gopal Govind Barve was appointed as the collector in this place."

1. Invasion Of Ahmad Shah Abdali:

In December 1751 Ahmad Shah Abdali again started from Kabul and reached Lahore. Mir Mannu, the governor of Lahore, was defeated in an encounter with Abdali on 6th March 1752. He agreed to give Abdali the *Subahs* of Lahore and Multan.[1]

Abdali sent his envoy Qalandar Khan to Delhi Court.[2] The Emperor became puzzled and sent letters to the Vazir to return immediately to Delhi with his powerful allied Maratha force. The Vazir received this letter on 17th March 1752 when the Maratha force was going back to Malwa. The Vazir finalised a formal treaty with them to get their help to face Abdali's invasion and against the Rohillahs. The treaty was ratified in April 1752 by the Vazir on support of the Emperor.[3] The terms of the treaty were: -

"1. The Peshwa was to defend the Emperor from state enemies, external invaders and he had to suppress other domestic rebels. He had to restore that land to the Imperial officers which was taken by local Rajas and Zamindars.

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[1] *Seir Mutagherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol.III, p. 326.

[2] *Seir Mutagherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, p. 327; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, p. 366.

[3] *Seir Mutagherin*, (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, p. 327; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 225-226; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 365.

2. The Marathas were to be paid fifty lakhs of rupees for the help provided to the Emperor. Out of this amount thirty lakhs of rupees were to be paid to the Marathas for expelling Abdali and twenty lakhs of rupees for internal enemies.

3. One fourth of the Imperial revenue (*chauth*) in the *subahs* and *Faujdari* of Multan, Punjab, Thatta, Bakkar and of the four *Mahals* of Sialkot, Pasrur, Aurangabad and Gujrat, and the *chauth* of the *faujdari* of Hisar, Sambhal, Moradabad and Badaun was also granted to the Marathas for their military expenses. Two parts of the revenue of these places was to be paid in *khalsa* for the support of Imperial military expenses to the Vazir Bahadur and Nawab Bahadur.

4. The Peshwa was to be appointed *Subahdar* of Ajmer (including the *Subahdari* and *Mutalqi* of Narnol and Sambhar) and Agra (including the *faujdari* and *Mutalqi* of Mathura and other sub-divisions) and entitled to be sanctioned renunciation and customary perquisites of *Subahdars* and *Faujdars*.

5. The Peshwa was to govern these Subahs exactly in conformity with the established rules of the Empire, respect the rights of all loyal jagirdars and officers and never grasp any land or money not thus specifically granted to them nor should he interfere with the law courts and forts directly under the Imperial government within the *Subahs* thus assigned to him. Of the lands recovered from usurpers and revenue defaulters, the Marathas were to get one half

to meet the expenses or the conquest and the other half was to be given to the government.

6. The Peshwa was to defend the Imperial territory from the internal and external enemies and will suppress the theives and rebel *kiledars*, thus the businessmen and the travellers will be protected. The Peshwa was to wrest the *jagirs* usurped by the *jagirdars* who don't obey the government and restore them to the Imperial officers. The Peshwa had the right to collect *chauth* from there.

7. The Peshwa could send his officers to serve the Emperor and to suppress the enemy if he was unable to come himself. During Balaji's Peshwaship a Maratha contingent was placed at Delhi according to an agreement of 1752 to serve the Delhi Emperor and the Vazir.

8. The Maratha officers should be present in the Imperial court as other high *mansabdars*. They had to join the Imperial campaigns. Sindia and Holkars with other amirs should always be present in the service of the Emperor.

Malhar Holkar and Jayapa Sindia took the oaths on behalf of the Peshwa. The Emperor granted the prayer by a *farman*.[1]

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[1] *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 1, The four *mahals* mentioned in the *sanad* are Sialkot Pasrur, Aurangabad and Gujrat; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, pp. 225-227.

By this agreement the Marathas got the right to collect *chauth* on a vast territory as Multan, Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and Rohilkhand. During this period no other power had the right to enter into an agreement with the Emperor as equal to him. The Emperor gave the Peshwa almost the whole of Northern India. One important point of the *Sanad* was that there was no reference of Satara Raja.[1]

The Vazir Safdarjang immediately returned to Delhi with a force and with his Maratha allies. When they reached there they came to know that all the demands of Qalandar Khan were granted and the Subahs of Lahore and Multan were also formally surrendered to him. After the ratification of this agreement by the Emperor on 13th April, Abdali returned to his country.[2]

Knowing about this agreement with Abdali, Safdarjang was shocked very much. He did not know how he would pay the money promised to the Marathas.[3] As the Marathas were not

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1. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, pp. 1-3.
2. *Seir Mutaqherin*, (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, p. 327; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 366.
3. *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, p. 327; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 366.

given the promised amount, they stayed near Delhi and plundered all the villages.[1] In the meantime the Peshwa called Sindia and Holkar to come soon to Deccan with Ghazi-Uddin. The difficulty of the ministers was solved. Ghazi-Uddin was ready to go to the Deccan with Sindia and Holkar and satisfy their demands if he was given the Subahdari of the Deccan. The Maratha Sardars were also ready for it. The Emperor accepted it.[2] On 4th May 1752, the Maratha Sardars marched towards Deccan with Ghaziuddin.[3]

Civil War in Delhi Court And The Invasion of Abdali:

In the month of November 1752 Abdali crossed Attock with a large force to attack on Hindustan. His agent reached the Emperor on 5th February 1753 with 2000 forces and demanded the yearly sum of fifty lakhs of rupees promised to him by the earlier agreement of April 1752. The agent met the Emperor on 13th February and told him that on getting money he will go back otherwise he will attack on Delhi. The Emperor called a meeting of the Vazir and others and asked what should be done, otherwise Abdali will attack Delhi. "All of them replied the same answer that the Maratha have accepted to fight with Abdali. The Emperor had given them the Subahs of Ajmer and Akbarabad and the chauth of all of all twenty four Subahs, money and all the rights. Ask this matter from the Marathas."[1] The Vazir somehow sent the envoy back. The Vazir sent the letters to the Peshwa to send a Maratha force for his help immediately.[2]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 366; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 228.

[2] Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, 327; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 230.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 68, Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya, Vol. 7, Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Swiya Granthmala, No. 35, ed. D.V. Potdar & G.N. Majumdar, year 1931, Nos. 41,43; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 1, No. 86; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 230.

In the meantime Emperor's mother Udhambai organized a conspiracy against the Vazir to finish his power and remove him from his Vazirship. Intizam-ud-daulah, Imad-ul-mulk, the Mir Bakhshi and the Emperor joined her in this scheme.[3]

Antaji was present at Delhi with a small Maratha force, Antaji informed the Peshwa the situation at Delhi and requested him to come either himself to Delhi or to

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos.53,54, 55; Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi (Pers. text), 45, 46b, 49a; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 369; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 389-390.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.55. In this letter Antaji wrote to the Peshwa that "There is great work in Delhi. It will take one month to drive them out. There will be a clash with the Pathans in March-April."

3. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol.3,p.330; Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi, (Pers. text), 45b; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp. 290-91.

send Bhau to solve the difficulties which could prove dangerous. On his request Raghunathrao was sent to Delhi.[1]

Both the Emperor and the Vazir Safdarjang tried to get Maratha help. The Maratha agent Bapu Rao Hingne promised to bring five thousand soldiers to help the Emperor. In return the Emperor issued two *farmans* to give the Peshwa the Subahdari of Oudh and Allahabad after the Marathas defeat the Vazir. On the other hand the Vazir was ready to give them jagirs which contained the yearly revenue of ten lakhs of rupees. He also reminded the Maratha help in Doab. The Vazir failed to get the Maratha support. Bapuji Hingne and Antaji supported the Emperor. Antaji was sent with five thousand force for the help of the Emperor. The Emperor became very happy. It increased his confidence in the Marathas. The Emperor gave Antaji the *mansab* of seven thousand and *Saheb naubat* and *Mahi Maratib*.[2]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 57, 55; Vol. XXVII, No. 83, *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. I, ed. D.V. Apte, Poona, Shak 1842, No. 34.

2. *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, No. 89, Antaji wrote to the Peshwa that "The Emperor repeatedly sent messages to the Maratha Vakil saying all my hope is in you. I am Balaji rao's man. Please save my life." *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, p. 331; *Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi*, (Pers. text), 50b; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 291-98.

Finally a civil war started between these two groups at Delhi from 26th March 1753.[1] The Emperor called Sindia and Holkar for help. He was ready to pay one crores of rupees for their services. The Vazir also invited the Marathas for help on the promise of one crores of rupees. The Peshwa at once sent Raghunathrao with twenty five thousand force and Sindia and Holkar for the help of the Emperor.[2] During 1753-1755 Raghunathrao with Malhar Rao and Jayapa Sindia proceeded towards Northern India with a view to enforcing Maratha claims and arrangements in Kumbher, Nagore, Delhi and Bundelkhand.[3] The war ended before the arrival of the Marathas at Delhi.[4]

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1. *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 331-333; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 294.

2. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, Nos 432, 433; Vol. I, No. 27, *Holkarshahi-cha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, ed. B.B. Thakur. Indore, 1944, No. 104; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 83.

3. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 58, Vol. 3. No. 445; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 153; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 79, also Vol. XXI, No. 60; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 95.

4. *BhauSahebchi Bakhar*, ed. V.C. Chitole and S.N. Joshi, Poona, 1955, p. 2; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 358-359.

The Marathas And The Jats:

During the civil war at Delhi, the Emperor and Imad-ul-Mulk had invited the Marathas for help against the Vazir and they agreed to pay a large amount to them for that purpose.[1] The Peshwa had despatched his brother Raghunathrao with a powerful army. On 6th October 1753 he was joined by Malhar Holkar at Narmada. In October 1753 this army reached in Jaipur to collect the tribute from many Rajput states because before their arrival an agreement was already made between the Emperor and the Vazir.[2]

The Marathas did not have any particular objective at this time. The Emperor had called them for help against the Vazir but now an agreement was already made between the Emperor and the Vazir. The presence of such a big Maratha army in the North was regarded a nuisance because they had to collect their tribute from the helpless people. Under these circumstances the Maratha Sardars welcomed the idea of attacking the Jat Raja of Bharatpur. The Marathas were granted the Subahs of Agra and Ajmer where they wanted to establish their actual control. Raja Surajmal Jat also wanted to capture Agra because it was adjacent to his own possessions of Bharatpur and Mathura.[1]

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[1] Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, p. 336.

[2] Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. 3, p. 336; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 27.

Malhar Holkar sent Khanderao and Tatya towards Delhi and decided for a campaign against Surajmal Jat with Imad-ul-Mulk in November 1753.[2] Vazir also tried to win the support of the Marathas but Khanderao refused. On Ist December the Emperor arranged a long conversation with Antaji, Bapurao Hingne, Vazir and the other Maratha Sardars at Delhi. He wanted that the Marathas should move according to the instructions of the Vazir and not of Imad-ul Mulk. The Marathas were not ready for it because they wanted to maintain good relations with the family of Nizam to protect the Maratha interests in Deccan. Imad-ul Mulk hated Surajmal while the Vazir supported him. So the Maratha sardars left the decision on Raghunathrao and Holkar. On 10th December the Emperor sent gold coins and other presents to Khanderao at the instigation of the Vazir. Khanderao refused to accept them on Imad-ul-Mulk's suggestion. On the Emperor's request Imad-ul-Mulk sent Aqibat to induce Khanderao to meet the Emperor.[3] The meeting took

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 376.
2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60, New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 376-77.
3. Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi, (Pers. text), 88a-98a; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 322.

place near the Jamuna river on 26th December. Khanderao was conferred with customary *Khilat* and a sword by the Emperor. The Emperor told him that the Marathas were called for help against Safdarjang. As the war had ended, he asked him to go back to his country. In January 1754, Khanderao joined his father.[1]

From Jaipur the Maratha army reached the Jat country. Surajmal tried his best to avoid a war. He sent his agent Roopram Kothari to the Marathas to maintain friendship and agreed to pay forty lakhs of rupees. Raghunathrao wished the amount of one crore. Surajmal was not ready to pay it.[2] On 16th January the Maratha army reached the famous Jat fort of Dig. A battle was fought. Both the sides suffered heavy loss.[3] The Jat Raja took shelter in the strong forts of Kumbher, Dig and Bharatpur. The Marathas attacked them. They did not possess seige guns.[4] On 28th February Raghunathrao also reached the fort of Kumbher.[5]

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[1] *Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi* (Pers. text), pp. 99b-100b.

[2] *Bhau Sahebachi Bakhar*, p.2; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 377.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXVII, No. 79.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 60; *Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya*, Vol. 7, Nos. 45,46 say that Kumbher was besieged and the Jats were defeated.

[5] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos.79,81.

The Emperor joined the Jats. Imad-ul-Mulk joined the Maratha forces and requested the Emperor for heavy artillery but the Emperor refused on the advice of the Vazir. The allies could not occupy the fort due to lack of heavy artillery.[1]

On 19th March 1754, Khanderao was killed by a shot. Surajmal sent mourning robes to Malharand his son.[2]

The siege of Kumbher continued for four months. Finally an agreement was made in May 1754. Roopram, on the part of Surajmal promised thirty lakhs of rupees to be paid to the Marathas in three yearly instalments.[3] Imad-ul-Mulk and Raghunathrao both left Kumbher, the first on 18th and the latter on 22nd May and reached Mathura on 23rd May.[4]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.60; Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No.109, In this letter Malhar Holkar writes to Balaji Rukmangad to immediately despatch two guns from the Agra fort for which joint payment has already been made.

2. Aitihasik Sakirna Sahitya, Vol. 7, No. 45; Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 125; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 379.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No.60; Vol. XXVII, Nos. 79,81,104. The last letter says that on 15th March Raghunathrao gave Imad-ul-Mulk a written undertaking to deliver to him one-fourth of the treasure and booty expected to be captured from the Jats; Historical Papers from Vaidya Daftar, No. 2. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 36, tells about the defeat of the Jats; Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya, Vol.7, No. 46 says that Jats were defeated so their Vakils have come talking about terms; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 326.

4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 79; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 326.

The Murder Of The Emperor:

The Emperor could not supply heavy artillery for the help of Imad-ul-Mulk and Marathas during the siege of Kumbher. Imad-ul-Mulk bitterly disliked the Emperor and wanted to take the revenge from him.[1]

While these incidents were happening here, Surajmal requested the Emperor and Khan Khanah to go to Sikandra to win the support of Safdarjang to suppress Imad-ul-Mulk and the Marathas. His main aim in going there was to get the support of the Jats and Safdarjang. The Emperor reached Sikandra on 17th May and stayed there.[2]

Imad-ul-Mulk was informed about all these proceedings. He decided to remove the Emperor from the throne with the help of Holkar. After making agreement with the Jats, the Maratha forces marched from Kumbher on 18th May and crossed the Jamuna at Brindawan and fled from there in the night without informing the Emperor. Raghunathrao and Jayapa Sindia remained at Marthura with their forces.[3]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60.
2. Seir Mutagherin, (Eng. tr.),Vol. III,pp.336-37; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60.
3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 378.

At the same time Imad-ul-Mulk despatched Aqibat Mahmud to the Emperor to tell him that about forty thousand Marathas had come in the territory close to him but now they were not present. The Emperor and the Vazir did not take care of it.[1]

Malhar Holkar decided to attack the Imperial camp to stop the goods supply and water and thus to occupy artillery. At night without intimating Imad-ul-Mulk and Sindia and other Sardars he corssed the river Jamuna at Mathura fort on 26th May and reached near the camp of the Emperor. He shot few rockets to know about the enemy but nobody cared for it in the Imperial camp. In the night the news was received that Malhar Holkar himself with a large force was present there. In the night the Emperor with his mother Udhambai and Samsam-ud-daulah with the Vazir fled from there towards Delhi mounting on their elephants.[2] They left all their family members, officers and all the luggage behind. After half an hour of their flight, the news spread in the camp. All the officers and Sardars with little luggage and arms fled from Sikandra. The Marathas followed and plundered them.[3] The ladies of the Imperial harem also moved towards Delhi. The Maratha troops fell upon these ladies in the night of 26th May. Malika Zamani and other three hundred ladies of the harem were captured and put into confinement and all their valuable goods were captured. The Marathas looted the camp of Sikandra. Holkar treated these ladies respectfully.[1] Even then the Marathas plundered lakhs of gold and silver coins, tents, stores, artillery, chariots, camels, horses and other items.[2]

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[1] Seir Mutagherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, p. 337.

[2] Seir Mutagherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, pp.337-38; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXI, No.60.

[3] Seir Mutagherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, p. 338.

On Ist June Raghunathrao and other Marathas were at Patpatganj near Delhi on the north side of Jomuna. He sent Tatya Gangadhar to the Delhi city with Maratha forces. The Emperor went in the fort. The Maratha forces helped Imad-ul-Mulk in arresting Ahmad Shah and in putting another Emperor on the throne and getting Vizarat for himself.[3]

On 2nd June Imad-ul-Mulk with Tatya Gangadhar and others went in the palace. Ahmad Shah conferred on him the Khilat of Vazirship.[4] The Emperor and his mother were

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1. Seir Mutaqherin,(Eng. tr.), p. 338; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60.
2. Seir Mutaqherin,(Eng. tr.), p. 338.
3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXI, Nos.60,63; also Vol. XXVII, No. 79, Vol. II, No. 42.
4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60, Vol. XXVII, No. 79; Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. III, p.339.

imprisoned and kept in custody. A Prince named Aziz-ud-din, the son of Muiz-ud-din Jahandarshah, was declared the new Emperor with the title of Alamgir II.[1] After a few days according to the order of Imad-ul-Mulk, Emperor Ahmad Shah, his son and mother were imprisoned and deprived of their sight.[2]

Immediately after this Raghunathrao and Jayapa Sindia with other Marathas reached Delhi.[3] The Vazir agreed to pay the Marathas eighty two lakhs of rupees for the help which they had given in the revolution.[4]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 79, 85, 88; Seir Mutagherin, (Eng. tr.) Vol. III, p. 339.

2. Seir Mutagherin, (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, p. 339.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60.

4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 90, 114. In the last letter dated 15th August 1754 Malhar Holkar wrote the Peshwa that "He repeatedly writes about Kashi and Prayag but received no reply. He wrote him that he had ordered for taking the Sanad for these two places. Gangadhar Pant went to Mathrua. Ghazi-ud-din and Surajmal Jat were there. He wrote that he has sent letter to Gangadhar about Prayag and Kashi and would take them after the arrangement at Delhi."

Raghunath Rao, Malhar Holkar and other Sardars roamed about for nearly five months in the vicinity of Delhi seeking to realize the promised sum from the Vazir. Jayapa Sindia went to Marwar on June 23 to help Ram Singh in capturing throne.[1]

Raghunath Rao decided to settle the tribute with the Pathans and Rohillas near Delhi and halted at Tilpat to negotiate with the Rohillas. According to the agreement he received some amount in cash. He also received written consent for payment of the remainder of the stipulated sum. From 13th January onwards Raghunathrao moved around Delhi and its environments.[2]

There was great dearth of funds with the Peshwa. He could get only two lakhs of rupees from the Jat campaign while his force consisting of two thousand soldiers in this campaign entailed an expenditure of twelve lakhs of rupees for five months.[1] Malhar Holkar could not get more from Sikandrabad camp. The Jats were the greater beneficiaries from the campaign and their share of the plunder was greater as they lived nearer. Only few elephants came into the hands of the Marathas out of that plunder.[2] The Peshwa had ordered Raghunathrao to capture large amount of money from Delhi. As the Marathas had helped Imad-ul-Mulk in taking the post of Vazir, Imad-ul-Mulk agreed to pay twenty five lakhs of rupees to the Marathas in return. But the Marathas subsequently enhanced their demand. So the Vazir agreed to pay Rs. 82½ lakhs to the Marathas.[3]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 60 also Vol. XXVII, No. 106, 79; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 114,115; also vol. 3, Nos.153, 290,293,56; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, Nos. 95,126,127, 129,138,142; *Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*,Vol.I, No. 146; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 130; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 32; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, p. 14; *Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya*, Vol.I, No. 47; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Intro. p.58, No. 39; also Vol. 3, No. 445.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*,Vol.XXVII,No.79;*Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, Nos. 138,127,119,122,135,47,94; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I,Nos.39,37; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, Nos. 125,122; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 33.

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 81; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 15.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 90 Vol. XXI, No. 60; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 51 dated 3rd September 1754, Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere No. 127 dated 3rd September 1754 This letter addressed to Jayapa Sindia reveals that "Last year when you went you had promised to finish the debt. It was given to debtors. The Jat campaign was very important but tribute could not be collected. Large amoung could be collected from Delhi but due to disturbances at home it could not be possible. It was thought that about forty or fifty thousand would be collected from Delhi, then the debts, can be paid but it could not be possible."

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 60, Vol. XXVII, No. 90; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 15.

It was decided that the Vazir will pay forty lakhs of rupees immediately and the remaining forty two and half lakhs later on. Attempts were made to collect these forty lakhs. About eight or nine lakhs were collected, for seventeen and half lakhs banker's bill were given ~~still~~. There was no possibility of the realisation of the remaining forty two and a half lakhs of rupees.

The Maratha agent at Delhi wrote a letter to his master that - "For these thirteen and half lakhs we are drumming the Vazir. There is no money in the Emperor's house, there is not a single pice with the Vazir, their soldiers are dying of starvation, daggers and Khives are being plied it every day. In such a state of things we are pressing for our money. No cash, no jewel is available. In the last resort, the Vazir is asking us to take assignments for thirteen and a half lakhs on the revenue of the lands a round Delhi which were set apart for feeding the Emperor and the Vazir".[1]

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No.90; Hingne Daftar, Vol.I, No.94 dated 13 July 1754 - Letter to Bapuji and Damodar Mahadev that 'We are in Delhi from one and a half month but money could not be collected. You and Gangadhar Yashwant should try to collect the money as soon as possible by any me-ans', also Nos.122, 97,131,133,101,125,126; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, Nos. 271,272, 279, 284-286, 290.

The Vazir gave the Marathas twenty villages in Saharanpur.[1] He also gave some districts from the Khalsa land and privy purse estates. The land in Doab territory was given to the Marathas. The large Maratha army left Delhi and its surroundings in the first week of February 1755.[2]

In the year 1754-55 a *Sanad* for the sacred places of Gaya and Kurukshetra was granted to the Maratha government by the Emperor. The management of these places was entrusted to Damodar Mahadev. So Raghunath Bajirao wrote to him that no taxes should be levied on both the places. He was ordered to establish the *amal* there and to give the tribute to the government.[3]

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, pp. 10-18.
2. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 290 dated 22 Jan. 1755 Manohar Bajaji informed to Ramaji Pant Bhau that....." Ghaziuddin Khan has given the *tanka* of rupees 15 lakhs on *khalsa mahals* of Bareilly etc. He has agreed to give it within five years giving three lakhs yearly. After making this agreement the force of Dada has come to the above mentioned place (Garhmukteshwar) on the bank of the Ganges. After this three instalments of three lakhs will be collected. Then he will meet Ghaziuddin (Khan Khanah) and the force of Subedar is going with him to Lahore."
3. *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa*, Vol. I, No. 79.

By the month of December, 1755 Raghunath Rao and Malhar Holkar were sent to the north.[1] In September 1756, the Vazir and the Emperor created disturbances in Doab and decided to do away with the Maratha administration there. The Maratha officers gave some amount to the Vazir out of the *Ijara* of Chakla Kara and Kora and made an agreement with him.[2]

In October 1756 the rumours of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali became current and actually Abdali entered Lahore with a small force. No one opposed him till he reached Delhi.[3]

By the end of the year 1756 the Emperor conferred a *Panch Hazari Mansab* on Antaji and gave him *Sahib-naubat Almankara*. He gave him the *khilat* and the *jagir*. At Delhi

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1. *Hingne Daftar*, Vol.I, No.184 dated 13th December 1755; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, Nos. 73, 71.

2. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 4, No. 156, Dated 26th September 1756.

3. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, No. 365 dated 2 January 1757; *Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 149, The letter says that 'Abdali has left Lahore and is pursuing the Sikhs'; *Tahmasp Nama*(Eng. tr.), pp. 41-42. *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, p. 431

the monthly expenditure for a soldier's maintenance amounted to Rs. 25 in a month. He gave rupees twelve per month for each soldier.[1]

A clash occurred between the forces of Antaji and those of the Abdali's Vazir at ten kos from Delhi.[2] On 21st January there was a clash between the forces of Antaji and Abdali's Sardar Sarwar Khan. Sarwar Khan was defeated and Antaji gained the victory.[3]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No.205; also Vol. XXI, No. 109 tells that Antaji went to Delhi. The Emperor gave him, *Saheb Naubat* and *Mahi Maratib*. The Emperor gave him the parganas of Etawa, Phaphund, Sikohabad and Kalinj in Doab in *jagir*; also letter No. 119; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, no. 1, The letter says that a Maratha force was kept at Delhi according to the agreement of 1752 to serve the Delhi Emperor and the Vazir.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 96; *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, p. 431, *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 52 dated 16th Feb. 1757; *Tahmasp Nama*, (Eng. tr.), pp. 45-46, *Hingne Daftar*, Vol.I, No. 193 dated 26 January 1757. Bapuji Mahadev writes from Delhi that 'At present all the posts have been lost. Only in Meerut 5,000 troops have been collected. They have nothing to eat. We do not have even a single pie'.

3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 95,96; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 63 dated 23 April 1757; *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Ganda Singh, Bombay, 1959, p. 171.

On Ist of February a large Afghan force of twenty thousand attacked Antaji from three sides and compelled him to flee from there.[1] One day Abdali sent his camp followers towards Faridabad to bring food and fodder. Jawahir Singh, the son of Surajmal Jat, Shamsher Bahadur Maratha and Antaji who were in Ballamgarh fort came out of the fort and attacked the foragers and captured about 150 horses and killed fifty to sixty men. Abdali sent Abdus Samad Khan against them. Jawahir Singh with Shamsher Bahadur and Antaji with other few men took shelter in Ballamgarh fort. The Shah himself marched from Faridabad and seized Ballamgarh fort on the request of Imad-ul-Mulk. Jawahir, Shamsher Bahadur and Antaji took to flight, and Abdali killed remaining soldiers of the garrison.[2]

Bapuji Mahadev sent an application to Abdali in the name of Peshwa saying that "I am ready to be present in your service with one lakh force and to leave the crown land of Doab. I will kill all the rebels and bring the Peshkash and put it into the treasury. Abdali gave the

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96; Ahmad Shah Durrani, p. 171 says that the Marathas with great difficulty took fight towards Mathura in Surajmal Jat's country.

2. 'Ahmad Shah Abdali and his Indian Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk', William Irvine, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, pp.45-55, 58-59; Ahmad Shah Durrani, pp.173-76.

khilat to Bapu. He became kind to him. Bapu accepted the khilat promising him the sum of two krores."[1]

Antaji with his little army fled towards Mathura. He did not fight the battle again.[2] Antaji sent full reports to the Peshwa about the situation of Delhi and the activities of Afghan and Maratha forces. He had sent letters to the Peshwa to despatch Raghunathrao.[3] Thus Raghunathrao

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 96 - Abdali asked Bapu that you have given the application of the Peshwa then why Antaji fights with our forces. Bapuji replied that Antaji is not the servant of Bajirao. He is the servant of the Vazir. Therefore, you should send a force to fight him. Abdali asked Najib Khan about the work of Antaji. Najib Khan told him that he is an important sardar of the Marathas and not the servant of the Vazir. Abdali ordered Najib Khan to send a letter to Antaji to know about the ideas and objects. Najib wrote such a letter to Antaji. Antaji replied that I will go to the boundry of my country. But if there will be disturbances in any village, I and Shamsher Bahadur Naro Shankar, Govind Ballal and his sons etc. and Surajmal Jat will do whatever will be possible..... Abdali said that Antaji Mankeshwar had first used his sword against us. Therefore, the Marathas are a great problem."

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos. 96, 98, 99; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 106; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 73 dated 13 December 1756, Letter to Ramaji Anant from Balaji Bajirao - 'I am sending Raghunathrao and Malhar Holkar towards north with forces. They will reach there immediately.'

and Abdali had left their respective countries just about the same time. But Raghunath rao moved very slowly. If he had moved rapidly he could have faced Abdali. He remained busy in collecting the tribute from Rajput states for about four months.

Throughout the month of March, Antaji had been writing letters to Raghunath Rao not to stay at Rajputana for long but to march from there in pursuit of Abdali and thus to win the fame of driving him out.[1]

After plundering Delhi, Agra, Brindawan, Mathura, Gokul, Faridabad and some other places badly and massacring the people in large number, Abdali retreated towards his country on Ist April 1757.[2]

Before leaving for his country Abdali had already installed Alamgir II, as the Emperor. Ghaziuddin was appointed the Vazir and Najib Khan Rohilla as Mir Bakhshi.[3]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos.110, 111,96; Vol. XXI, No. 119; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I Nos. 63,67, 52; Hingne Daftar, Vol. I, No. 195.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos.71,118; Vol. XXVII, No. 152; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 63; Tahmasp Nama,(Eng. tr.), pp. 47-51.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 152, Vol. XXI, No. 117 dated 30.4.1757, Islamic Culture, July 1933, p. 432.

He left Najib Khan as his supreme agent (plenipotentiary or Mukhtar) in India and the real master of Delhi Government.[1] Abdali sent Ghaziuddin and Najib to Doab with two princes,[2] to drive out the Maratha intruders from there. They occupied the Jat posts in Doab. The Pathans of Samsabad had also captured the Maratha posts in Doab. They rendered Maratha administration ineffective in the region. The plan was made to send Vithal Pant, Tatya and Gangadhar Yashwant with ten thousand force against the Pathans.[3]

The main drawback of the Maratha politics in the north was a continuous change in policy and allies. The people became suspicious and lost their confidence. So the Marathas lost the sympathy of the Rajputs, the Jats, nawabs of Oudh and the Rohillas. The result was that there were no real and constant allies in the north to further their political aims.[4]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 117; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 93; Islamic Culture, July 1933, p. 432.
2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 117; Holkarshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 147.
3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No.152; Vol. XXI, No. 117, 115. In the last letter Gopalrao Bapu informed Sakharam Bapu that if the Maratha forces will not reach in this province, they would loose the place; Islamic Culture, July 1933, p.432.
4. Marathvansha Itihasachi Sadhnan, Vol. I, Intro. p. 59.

In his northern expedition of 1757-58 Raghunathrao was entrusted by the Peshwa with certain important tasks such as to establish firm hold on different areas, to set up efficient administrative arrangements in the Imperial territories of Delhi, to make arrangements with Abdali and the Rohillahs in Rohilkhand and to launch an expedition in the eastern provinces of Kashi, Prayag and Bengal and to collect tribute from there and to look after the Maratha interests in the region including those of the Mamlatadars in the Maratha territory, to issue orders for the suspension of Damodar Mahadev, Bapuji Mahadev, Laxman Shankar and Govind Pant Bundela, Naro Shankar and Antaji, Govind Pant Bundela and others who were not sending money regularly and properly to destroy Najib Khan, to collect the money from conquered territory and to march on further expansion.[1]

Keshavrao also wrote letters to Raghunathrao and Malhar Holkar to repair to Delhi from Rajputana. At last a Maratha force was sent under Sakharam Bapu, Vithal Shivdev, Antaji and Gangadhar Yashwant to make arrangements for effective control of the Doab. It was also thought to win the support of Shuja-ud-daulah for the reduction of the enemy.[2]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No.171.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, Nos.126, 117, 122; *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos.70, 71, 72.

Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah wanted to defeat the enemy with the help of the Marathas. Sakharam Bapu and other Marathas agreed to help the Nawab on promise that the Nawab would not open negotiations with the enemy but the Nawab did otherwise.[1]

The force sent by Raghunathrao under Sakharam Bapu, Gangadhar Yashwant, Vithal Shivdev, Antaji, Tatya and other Maratha Sardars arrived at Agra in about the middle of May. These Sardars first entered into an agreement with the Jats about the remaining arrears in pursuance of the agreement of 1754. On the 7th June the Marathas under Sakharam Bapu reached Kasganj. Hearing about the arrival of the large Maratha army in Doab, Ghazi-uddin and the Pathans of Farrukhabad left the Maratha posts which were recaptured by the Marathas. Ghazi-ud-din and the Princes started a battle with Shuja-ud-daulah. The Marathas sided with Shuja-ud-daulah. So the Vazir made the friendship and came to the Marathas.[2] The posts of Shahana, Narsija and Khanpur were captured by the Marathas.[3] The Marathas appointed their Kamavisdars in Etawa, Shikohabad and other places.[1] Ahmad Khan Bangash came to meet Antaji to pay his homage.[2]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 136, Vol. XXVII, No. 181.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 131, also Vol. II, No. 79, 76.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, 137.

Najib Khan had captured all the crown lands in his own hands. The Emperor did not feel his condition improved under Najib Khan vis-a-vis that of Imad-ul-Mulk. Imad-ul-Mulk and the Emperor joined the Marathas to oppose Najib Khan.[3] Raghunathrao engaged himself with the affairs of Delhi.[4]

Raghunathrao had sent a force under Sakharam Bapu from Jaipur to re-establish Maratha posts in Doab and to expel Najib Khan out of Delhi after capturing the territory under his control.[5] By the end of July Raghunathrao himself

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXVII, No. 63.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 139,134. The last letter dated 28 June 1757 says that as the Vazir joined the Marathas, Rohillahs tried to make an alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah to protect their common frontiers but Shuja-ud-daulah had no confidence in the Rohillahs.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 79, Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No, 100 dated 10 October, 1757, 'The news from north is that Ghazi-ud-din Khan Vazir made friendship with Raghunath Dada and defeated Najib Khan Rohillah writing both of them. He met them.'

4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 120.

5. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 79. In this letter Antaji wrote to the Peshwa - "I will march towards Garmukhteshwar and Najib has captured the Imperial territory, I will change it into Khalsa, and drive Najib Khan out of Delhi. Najib Khan and Abdali are not two persons. Najib Khan is in Delhi from Abdali's side. The Vazir and the Emperor are near us." Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, No. 366.

marched towards Delhi from Rajputana. On 27th July Shamsher Bahadur arrived at Rewari with a Maratha force and artillery to capture Rewari to ransom and to hold Khalsa land there. But they found that Khalsa parganas were under the control of the Jats. The Marathas went to Sonipat and Panipat parganas to make the arrangement of Najib Khan. A few parganas were held by the wife of Sitaram Kaliana. Her son came to the side of the Marathas.[1]

On 11th August Raghunath rao reached Khizirabad and the same day he started attacks on Delhi.[2]

Now there were only few supporters of Najib in Delhi.[3]

On Ist and 2nd September, efforts were made to establish peace. Malhar Holkar persuaded Imad-ul-Mulk and Raghunath Rao for an agreement with Najib. At last Najib Khan agreed to go to Malhar.[4]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 193,198.
2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 197, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 198,194; Vol. XXI, No. 136; 'Najib-ud-daulah, Ruhela Chief', Jadunath Sarkar, Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, October 1933, p. 651.
3. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p.432; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 108 says Vithal Shivdev made captive Najib Khan with all his supporters. The Emperor gave him khilat with the title of Imad-ul-Mulk. A jagir near Nasik was also given to him; Marathavancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No.100 dated 1 October 1757 - 'The news from north is that Ghaziuddin Khan Vazir made friendship with Raghunathrao and defeated Najib Khan Rohillah.
4. Islamic Culture, July 1933, Vol.VII, pp.433-35; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.II, p. 108.

On 3rd September he sent a letter with Abdul Ahad Khan to Malhar Holkar with the following message:

(1) "I am your (adopted son and I shall act,as you bid me. You have done me many favours, and it is not proper that you should (now) bare your sword against me. If you say so, I shall go away across the Jamuna, and you can entrust Delhi and the Empire to the control of whomsoever you please.

(2) Bid me and I shall go to Abdali Shah and arrange a peace between you by delimiting your respective boundries, which would be respected in future by both parties So that there might not be war again.

(3) I shall depute my son Zabita Khan to serve you with a contingent of five or seven thousand men as a proof of my fidelity.

(4) If you do not agree to these terms but are bent on fighting against me, I shall write the Par Ruhelas and others and give you a good battle. He will rule the whole realm when God gives the victory."[1]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No.77; *Seir-Mutagherin.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. III,P. 364. The author of the book says that 'And both the Emperor Alamgir and Medjib-ed-dowlah, alias Nedjib Khan, his minister were going to fall in his hands, when the latter sent, mighty bribe to Malhar, who from that moment assumed the character of mediator, and proposed an accommodation. Meanwhile, having brought Nedjib-ed-dowlah from the citadel, with both his family, furniture, and effects, he lodged him close to his own quarters'. *New History of the Marathas*,Vol.II,p.396; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, p. 108.

In the end the Marathas settled peace through the mediation of Malhar Holkar. Najib-ud-daulah went back to the Saharanpur district.[1]

At the same time Najib-ud-daulah ordered his tax collectors in Doab to flee from there. Thus the Marathas recovered their posts in Doab.[2]

Raghunath Rao had encamped close to Najib. He used to go for bath in Jamuna and pass close to the Ruhela camp. Raghunath Rao and Malhar Holkar asked Najib to stop cow slaughter but Najib refused to do so saying that 'this practice is one of the religious commands, and I shall never give it up.'[3]

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1. Islamic Culture, Vol.VII, October 1933,p. 651; Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 433 says 'Within one month the peace was settled on the conditions that Najib-ud-daulah should return back to his own estate, the Vazirship should be given to Imad-ul-Mulk, who would administer the palace fort, Ahmad Khan Bangash should be Mir Bakhshi, Najib agreed and came out of the city and encamped at Barari ghat, on the bank of Jamuna, at 7 kos from Delhi fort. The information contained in this source clearly shows that it was only due to the favour of Malhar Rao towards Najib that he compelled Raghunath Rao for peace with Najib. Otherwise Raghunathrao was not ready for it."

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXVII, No. 198.

3. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 433.

After the departure of Najib, Ghazi-ud-din, the Vazir, took the control of all the affairs of the administration of the country in his own hands.[1] Malhar Holkar was sent the robes of honour by the Emperor to appoint ehe new officers according to his own will. Such appointed officers went into the camp of Raghunath Rao to pay their respects to him.[2] As Delhi was captured by the Marathas, an agreement was made. A Maratha force of five thousand was to remain at Delhi. Fifteen lakhs of rupees were fixed as the tribute to be paid to the Marathas from Delhi for the maintenance of these troops.[3] In June 1757, the Marathas made a new agreement with Imad-ul-Mulk. Instead of one fourth they were promised the half share of all the revenues that they could collect from the Mughal Empire.[4] In October 1757 the Peshwa wrote to Raghunathrao to finish the enemy in Kashi and Patna without delay. No tribute could be collected from Delhi because it had been bankrupt.[1] Raghunathrao wrote letters to the Peshwa to send Dattaji Sindia towards north to join him.[2]

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[1] *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol.3, pp. 364-65.

[2] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 109.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 148 says that the tribute of 15 lakhs was fixed from Delhi. The tribute was to be collected by the force itself. The letter says that Najib had been driven out of Delhi. He had captured the posts in Doab. So Malharrao, Vithal Pant, Paygude, Vazir and Janardan Ram would go to him.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 84; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 90 dated 10 October, 1757.

On 18th September 1757 Malhar Holkar and Raghunathrao marched from Barari ghat towards the west of Basi hills. Here they released Prince Alijah who had remained in confinement. They sent him to Musa Khan Baluch to collect the tribute from the land which was in his possession in Rohtak district. Musa Khan paid him tribute and took Ijara with the signature of Maratha Chief for the control of villages. The Maratha officer Raghunathrao and Malhar Rao decided to take the control of Punjab from Abdali's officers. But when they came to know that Abdus Samad Khan, the faujdar appointed by Abdali in Sirhind had collected a large force to oppose them and Najib's son had also joined him as he was driven out of Saharanpur and upper Doab by the Marathas, Raghunath Rao dropped the plan finding themselves unable to face the Abdali's troops.[3]

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[1] Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 90 dated 10 October 1757.

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 82.

[3] Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 433 says that Najib had encamped at Bararighat 7 kos from Delhi fort. The force of Raghunathrao was near him.

On 22nd October, Raghunathrao and Malhar Holkar marched in Doab drawing their troops from Delhi and surrounding places. Raghunathrao went to Garmukhteswar, levying tribute and plundering the villages on the way, to have a bath in the sacred river Ganges.[1] The Maratha force under Malhar Holkar, Vithal Pant, Paygude and Janardan Ram and others went to capture Doab. They collected the tribute of twenty thousands of rupees at Baghpat and seventeen thousands of rupees as ranson from Baraut.[2]

Renkoji Apaji and other Maratha sardars drove Qutub Shah, the deputy of Najib, out of Saharanpur and captured the city. Najib and his family crossed the Ganges and went to the other bank. The Marathas plundered Saharanpur district and its surrounding territory.[3]

The Maratha army under Malhar Holkar marched from Saharanpur and plundered Karnal and Tilauri. In January 1758 the Maratha force arrived at Kunjpura and demanded tribute from its commander Najabat Khan who agreed for the

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, pp. 111-112.
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, 148,137; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 111-112; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 397.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXI, No. 144; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 397.

payment of five lakhs, three lakhs to Malhar and the remaining two lakhs to Ahmad Khan Bangash and Dilel Singh, the *diwan* of the Vazir. Malhar Rao crossed the Jamuna with Ahmad Khan Bangash and reached Saharanpur by the end of January.[1]

Raghunath Rao and Malhar Holkar now marched towards Sirhind, plundering Thaneshwar on the way. In March the Marathas arrived at Sirhind on the invitation of Adina Beg Khan, the Mughal Governor of Jalandhar Doab, to protect his people and territory from the invasion and atrocities of Timur Shah, the governor of Punjab.[2]

After the departure of the Marathas from Delhi, Najib Khan recaptured his posts and did not pay the tribute of five lakhs of rupees which he had agreed to pay on 3rd September 1757. The Vazir agreed to pay the *jagir* of five lakhs to Vithal Pant for the help provided by him in capturing Najib's districts, appointed the son of Vithal Pant, the *faujdar* of Saharanpur in place of Najib and put into

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 156 says that the force of Ahmad Khan Bangash will go in the service of Dada within few days. Nawab Vazir sent letters to come with his force on the condition that his *jagir* will be given to him.
2. *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.), p.64, says that Adina Beg entered into an agreement with the Marathas to pay rupees one lakh for every day of marching and rupees fifty thousand for every day of camping.

confinement the brother of Najib and his Diwan in May 1756.[1] The Vazir agreed to pay five lakhs of rupees after some time.[2]

The Maratha forces reached Sirhind in March 1758 and besieged it. They fought a battle with Abdus Samad Khan, the Abdali's *faujdar* of Sirhind. The latter was captured on 21st March. The Marathas plundered Sirhind city and seiged it.[3]

Finally the Marathas marched from Sirhind and went towards Satlaj in Doab. The Vazir came to Lahore.[4]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos.224, 225, Vol. XXI, No. 159. The letter says that the agreement was made that the Vazir and Vithal Pant should go to Najib and drive him out of his territory and establish *amal* there. But it seems that Vazir will not go himself but sent his force and artillary;

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, 224.

3. *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 64, 67; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 94 dated 4 June 1757.

3. *Tahmasp Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 68.

The Maratha army marched from Doab towards Lahore with Adina Beg Khan. When Raghunathrao was at Delhi, Adina Beg had asked him to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus. There was a force of twenty thousand under Jahan Khan, the general and Taimur Shah, the son of Abdali and the governor of Lahore.[1] After finding themselves unable to fight with Maratha troops, Jahan Khan and Taimur Khan decided to take to flight. The troops under Nanaji Paygude, Gangadhar Bajirao and Gopalrao Ganesh were sent abroad from the bank of the river Bias. They fought a battle. Being nervous Jahan Khan and Taimur Shah saved their lives crossing the Chinab river leaving their troops, entire camp, baggage and heavy guns in the hands of the enemy. The Marathas crossed the river Chinab though the river was inundated and unfordable due to floods. The Maratha troops followed Taimur Shah upto the river Attock and then returned to Lahore and captured it.[2] Raghunathrao lived in Punjab for a month. He appointed Adina Beg Khan his governor in

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos.218, 220, *Shahalam Nama* (Pers. Text), Munna Lal, p. 67 says that Deccan Chief gave Lahore to Adina Beg who appointed Khwaja Mirza Khan governor of the city and settled at Doab, Basti and Jalandhar; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. tr.), p. 72 says that Raghunathrao, Malhar Rao and Adina Beg lived near Lahore for a few days; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, Nos.41,78; Vol. XXI, Nos. 111, 116, 150; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 94. The writer says that "Lahore was captured. It was empty upto Attock. After establishing a few posts and making the arrangements of the Vazir and the Emperor, the country of one and one and a half lakh will be evacuated."
2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXVII, No.218,220; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3 No. 94 dated 4 June 1757; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng.Tr.), p.70; *Atihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No, 162.

the province of Punjab and Jalandhar Doab. Adina Beg agreed to pay seventy five lakhs as the annual tribute for Punjab to the Marathas. The Maratha chiefs marched towards Deccan with their forces.[1]

Raghunathrao and Malhar Rao separately marched towards Deccan by way of Rajputana. At Kota they met with Jankoji and Dattaji Sindia who were coming to the North. On 16th September Raghunathrao reached Poona.[2]

Some Marathi letters say that though Raghunathrao was requested from different quarters not to move towards Deccan immediately but to stay near Delhi and to make his arrangements stable or to stay upto the arrival of Dattaji and Jankoji in the North. Raghunathrao was also told that Najib Khan was trying to call Abdali to India for the protection of Muslim interests from the Marathas but Raghunathrao did not take care of it and returned to Deccan.[1]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 218,220; Jadunath Sarkar in *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 54 says that the Marathas could not cross Chenab but following letters prove that the Marathas crossed Chenab and Attock. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 163 Dated 5th September 1758, Vol. XXVII, No. 231 Dated September 1758; Vol. II, No, 98, Dated 7th November 1758.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No.229, Vol. XXI, No. 162, Vol. II, Nos. 94, 95; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 143.

The main danger to the Maratha power was that they did not stay in Punjab in sufficient strength to consolidate their conquests. It was the main draw back to their whole policy and politics in Deccan as well as in the north. A small force could not meet all circumstances. On their return Raghunathrao had sent Vithal Shivdev and Malhar Holkar sent Tukoji Holkar to Punjab.

In a letter dated 4th May 1758 Raghunathrao describes to Peshwa the Maratha achievements in Punjab - "We have already brought Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and other subahs on this side of Attock under our rule for the most part .... Ahmad Khan Abdali's son, Timur Sultan, and Jahan Khan have been pursued by our troops and their forces completely routed. Both of them now reached Peshwar with a

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, Nos.88,89, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 150,156,226,229; XXI, Nos. 156-158; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 341 says that "Antaji suggested Raghunathrao that after his departure Abdali will come to Lahore. But due to rains Raghunathrao had to go to the Deccan immediately and he could not complete the work of making arrangement of the present system of Abdali and of looking after the work of *mamlatdars* and of going towards the east and went back to Poona. In this expedition Raghunathrao could not earn money but returned with a debt of one crore"; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Introduction, p. 59; Vol. 3, No. 92 dated 10 April 1758 - The Peshwa wrote to Sakharam Bhagwant to give the right to Malhar of performing the work from Delhi to Lahore.

few broken troops ...... We have decided to establish our rule upto Kandahar."[1]

In January 1758 Jankoji Sindhia and in May Dattaji advanced towards the north from Poona.[2] In July 1758 Jankoji had a meeting with Raghunathrao who was returning to the Deccan from the north.[3] Raghunathrao told him the situation of Delhi and Punjab and asked him to go to Delhi immediately for the defence of the capital and Doab territory.[4] In August 1758 Jankoji Sindia met Malhar Holkar and marched towards Jaipur.[5]

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1. Itihasa Sangraha, Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh, Vol.IV, No. 2.
2. Seir Mutaqherin, Vol.3, p. 369; Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 435.
3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 162, The letter says that "Raghunathrao came to Jaipur defeating Abdali and making the arrangements in Lahore province. Jankoji was engaged in Shahpur. Raghunathrao will reach Deccan by slow marches by the end of July after sending Jankoji to Marwar.'
4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 230; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 138.
5. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 94, Vol. XXVII, No. 230.

The Vazir called Malharrao and Jankoji so they settled the matter of Shahpur for four lakhs.[1] Antaji also wrote the Peshwa to inform Tukoji not to move towards Marwar but to march towards Delhi to settle the matter of the Rohillahs and to do the work of Punjab and to settle the matters with Adina Beg and in the east.[2] Antaji himself had to march to Bengal with the Emperor and the Vazir for the protection of Maratha interests there.[3] Dattaji had encamped at Roopnagar to find out measures to lessen the debt of the Peshwa.[4] Jankoji made the arrangement in Kota and Marwar.[5]

Dataji and Jankoji Sindia marched towards Delhi.[6] The Peshwa had entrusted them the work of tackling with the problem of the Rohillahs with the help of Vazir, and

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 95, Vol. XXI, No. 162.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 230. In this letter Antaji asked the Peshwa to order Jankoji to perform the work either of east or of Lahore, the other work Antaji was ready to do with the Empeor and the Vazir, Nos. 231, 236; Vol. II, No. 96.

3. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 231, 236.

4. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 138.

5. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, XXI, 162; Vol. II, Nos. 94-96. In No. 96 Antaji vites to Peshwa that Jankoji is not crossing towards Delhi without Dattaji Sindia.

6. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, pp. 435-36; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 139.

to organise defence of the Punjab as itsgovernor, Adina Beg had died, and to collect tribute from there. After establishing the arrangement in Lahore, the Sindias were ordered to proceed to Bengal with a large force together with Shuja-ud-daulah and to collect the large amount of tribute by force if needed and to evacuate the territory in Patna and Bengal. They were also ordered to take the nazar of Kashi and Prayag and to collect the tribute from Shuja-ud-daulah. They were further asked to collect the tribute by any means with a view to reducing the debt of the Government. If Shuja-ud-daulah was ready to give Vazirship to Ghazi-ud-din, the Sindias were ordered to collect fifty lakhs of rupees from him. The Sindiaswere also told to send Antaji back to Deccan and to collect tribute from him as he was not sending tribute regularly.[1]

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[1] Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh, Nos. 165-168,171. In letter No. 166 - the Peshwa wrote to Ramaji Anant 'to make good plans, to collect large tribute to finish the debts and prepare a fresh force. The Peshwa had to pay the debt of one crore, out of that thirty lakhs was given to the debtors and the rest was to be paid.' In letter No. 167 dated 21st March 1759. Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia were written 'tb adopt one plan out of the three if Shujauddaulah agrees to cede both Allahabad and Benaras and pays fifty lakhs, he should be made Vazir. But if he refuses to surrender above territories and asks for 2 or 3 years to pay fifty lakhs, he should not be given Vazirship. But he should be given this post if he pays fifty lakhs and at least Allahabad.

Secondly, if Shuja-ud-daulah does not cede Prayag and takes two or three years to pay money, he should be threatened from the two sides. After this if Shujauddaulah cedes Benaras and Allahabad and pays a heavy nazar, he should be given Bakhshiship.

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The arrival of large Maratha forces in Delhi under the Sindias completely changed the Maratha policy in the north. Malhar Holkar a soft-spoken Sardar amiable by temperament who was looking after the Maratha interests in the north since a long time was replaced by Dattaji Sindia who was just the opposite of him in nature and dealings. Malhar had accepted Dattaji as his adopted son while Dattaji was ordered to suppress Najib Khan as he was the only remaining obstruction in the establishment of Maratha supremacy in the north. After that the Marathas could easily send their forces to the Punjab and Bihar and collect huge amounts of tribute from these places to lossen the Peshwa's debt. Dattaji was not satisfied with the arrangements made by Malhar Holkar.[1]

Dattaji informed that the Peshwa had appointed him the Subahdar of Agra in place of Malhar and required tribute from Delhi which was beset with danger of plunder. The Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk wanted to negotiate with Dattaji and was ready

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Thirdly, if Vazir refuses to leave Delhi for Bihar, the Sindias should join Shuja, take from him Benaras and Allahabad only without demanding a money contribution, promise him half of Bengal and Bihar, attack Bengal with Shujauddaulah and collect a large tribute from that province'; Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Intro. p. 60; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 239,240; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 112 Dated 20 July 1759, Nos. 96-102, 106, Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p. 391.

[1] Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, Nos. 166, 167; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 139.

to pay him seven to eight lakhs of rupees on the promise of Dattaji's avoiding to enter Delhi and to go direct to Punjab without taking round of Delhi. The Maratha forces reached Delhi and started fighting breaking the friendship with Imad-ul-Mulk. On 23rd January Dattaji sent Antaji, Purshottam Hingne and other Marathas to negotiate with the Vazir but failed. Ultimately on 30th January an agreement was made with the Vazir on the payment of money. On Ist February Dattaji marched towards north and Delhi was pacified.[1]

Arrangements Of Sindias In Punjab:

Adina Beg Khan the Viceroy of the Punjab died on 15th September 1758.[2] After his death a great struggle for power began in the Punjab.

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1. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436 says that Dattaji made peace with Imad-ul-Mulk on the terms that the Vazir should send his own force for the help of Dattaji in his attack on Najib. The Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk sent his *diwan* Diler Singh and Bahadur Khan Baluch with 5000 troopers for Dattaji help; *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.4, No.499 Dated 19th March 1759; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 169 dated 21 March 1759 says that 'There was a conflict between Sindia and the Vazir. So an agreement was made. Jankoji and Dattaji Sindia went to Karnal, 60 kos from Delhi. Their plan is to go to Lahore.'
2. *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. tr.), p.74; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No.96 says that Adina Beg died on 16th September 1759; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 165; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, p. 55 says that Adina Beg died on 13th October 1758.

After making a conspiracy with the Maratha Sardars posted at Lahore Mirza Ahmad Khan declared himself governor of Lahore and Salih Khan made himself Subahdar of Multan. They imprisoned Khwajah Mirza, the ruler of Lahore, and his brother on payment of a cash sum to the Marathas and p promised some more money also.[1]

When the Peshwa came to know about all these disturbances in Lahore, he despatched a large force under Dattaji Sindia towards Lahore province.[2]

By the first week of April 1759 these generals arrived at the eastern bank of Satlaj.[3] Dattaji continued the arrangements made by Raghunathrao at Sirhind. Adina Beg died but his wife and son came to meet him and paid some amount of money as tribute.[4] Dattaji sent Sabaji Sindia to Lahore as *naib* of the province with a large force.[1] After making arrangements in Punjab Dattaji and Jankoji returned in May to Delhi.[2]

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[1] Tahmasp Nama (Eng. tr.), p. . 81-82, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 55-56.

[2] Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 166; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 168.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 169; Hingne Daftar, Vol. I, No. 198; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vo. 3, No. 106; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 171 Dated 16.4.1759.

[4] Panipatcha Ransangram, Part I, Itihasa SamshoDkaka Mandala, ed. N.R. Phatak & Setu Madhavarao Pagadi, Bombay 1961, pp. 142-142; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 100; Hingne Daftar, Vol.I,No.198.

In August 1759, Dattaji Sindia informed the Peshwa that "he was ordered to settle the affair of the Vazir and Najib Khan and was ordered to go to the east and Bengal to collect the tribute, to lessen the debt and pursue the assigned task in Bengal with the Vizir's help. If the Vazir was not ready, Dattaji was ordered to perform the work of the east with the help of Shujauddaulah. Dattaji informed the Peshwa that he marched from Shatdru according to the order. He decided to go to the east and would go to Delhi to take the Vazir. If the Vazir would accept the demands to give the fort of Prayag, the *Sanad* of Kashi, the Sarkar of Patna and whatever money would be received from these places the Vazir should take six anna and

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 100; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol.I, Nos. 199, 198 - the last letter says that Sabaji was sent to Lahore but was recalled by Jankoji and Naro Shankar was sent for the work of Lahore. But in fact we find Sabaji holding Punjab province as its governor till the Maratha expulsion in October 1760; *Chandrachud Daftar*, Vol.I, No. 49, says that you have made the arrangementsuupto Attock but you did not send the money for the government; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. 3, Nos. 198-199; *Islamic Culture* Vol. 7 July 1933, p. 436.

2. *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 198; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 56 says that the Marathi forces did not cross Sutlaj this time but *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 198 says that the Sindias finished all the work in Lahore and came back crossing the river Satluj; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 100; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 142.

Dattaji ten anna out of a rupee and would formulise the deal by a *Sanad*, then he would go with the Vazir, otherwise he would go to the east to perform the work of the Peshwa in the east by putting pressure on Shujauddaulah He decided to encamp in the east and to go for the work of Bengal during the rainy season. Shujauddaulah did not give the *amal* of Kashi though *Sanad* was given.

Najib Khan's Vakil made an agreement with Dattaji to go with him towards the east with his force. If Najib would come according to the agreement, it was nice. Otherwise Dattaji decided to go to the east after reducing Najib But it would take time and differences would be created, so Dattaji decided to take Najib with himself. He decided to go to Doab to look after the country there and then to go to the country of Shujauddaulah making a bridge on the Ganges. Dattaji was himself very much worried about the debts and wanted to finish them from the money seized in the east.[1]"

The Sindias tried to collect money from Delhi for about one month. They collected all the tribute from the

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 104, Vol. XXVII, No. 240; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, Nos. 165, 168, 171.

Vazir. The six mahals of the Vazir including Meerut were in Maratha possession. The rest were with Najib Khan. After taking their *ijara* from the Vazir the Marathas captured them to collect the tribute of the government. The tribute was also fixed from every village. Antaji assured to take from the Vazir the territory, the tribute of the *Mahals*, of the *jagirs* and to bring it to the Peshwa.[1]

From Punjab Dattaji Sindia with Jankoji marched to Doab and entered it.[2]

Najib agreed to help the Marathas with his force in their march towards the east. If Najib did not join then Dattaji had decided to make his arrangement.[3]

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[1] *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 198; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 136.

[2] *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No.239; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 136 says "the solidiers crossed Jamuna near Delhi and went on the bank of the Ganges in Doab. The work at Delhi hasbeen finished. Now the plan is to go to Doab to finish the work of the Jats, Rohillahs and Shujauddaulah and to go to Bengal."

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, 104, *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 143.

In June 1759 Govind Ballal reached near Sikandra, and joined the Maratha Sardars. Govind Ballal captured this post from Najib's agents and set up his arrangements. Hearing this news Najib marched from Mirpur and reached Gulawati near Hapur. Govind Pant also reached there. Antaji asked Dattaji to write to Govind Pant not to create disturbances in the pargana of Najib whose services he proposed to utilize.[1]

Najib was doubtful about the secret plans of the Marathas in Doab. He was also afraid that Dattaji was planning to arrest him during the time of a friendly meeting. A personal meeting was arranged between Dattaji and Najib but it proved fruitless.[2]

Now the negotiations were started through the medium of agents. Sujanrao and Meghraj Vakil came to Govind Pant. They gave something for ghasdana and made friendship. The Vazir sent Balaji Govind to bring Govind Pant to Delhi. The Vazir gave Govind Pant khilat, Jawahir, two Rokmas, one

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 102.

2. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436, Najib himself said, 'It is not good to meet these men (Marathas). Their looks seem malignant to me'.

horse and gave khilat and Jawahir to his two sons and to the people who accompanied him. They also planned for a second meeting.[1]

After some time Dattaji Sindia sent his agents to Najib Khan asking for the cession of Hardwar and Jwalapur, the places of Hindu worship, but Najib refused.[2] The Sindia Sardars captured all the country of Najib and established their Thanas every where.[3] Gradually a open conflict developed between the Marathas and Najib Khan.[4]

Najib had encamped at Shukartal, on the bank of the river Ganges by the end of June and sent his agents every month to Ahmad Shah Abdali. He also called Afghan Sardars and Shujauddaulah to join him in order to drive away the Marathas from the north.[5]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.II, No. 102.
2. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, October 1936, p. 651; History of the Rohillah Afghans, Charles Hamilton, 1787, pp. 134-135.
3. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436; Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, p. 371.
4. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, October 1936, p. 651.
5. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436; Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, October 1936, p. 651; Seir Mutaqherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, pp.371-72; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, No. 190.

The skirmishes and exchange of gun fire between the Marathas and the forces of Najib continued for about four months. Dattaji also went to the north side of Shukartal and encamped at some distances from Najib crossing the Ganges.[2] In a clash the arm of Jankoji was wounded.[3]

Shuja-ud-daulah marched from Lucknow and encamped at Shahabad as he could not join Najib due to the overflowing Ganges.[4]

Hearing about the arrival of Shujauddaulah and finding the Ganges fordable, Dattaji Sindia sent Govind Ballal Bundel on about 20th October with a Maratha force to destroy the whole Rohilkhand. They burnt and plundered about thirteen hundred villages from Chandpur down to Amroha.[5]

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1. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 436; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, October 1936, p. 651; *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp. 371-72; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 190.

2. *Panipatcha Rangangram*, p.148; *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p. 371; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, October, 1936, p. 651.

3. *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, Vol. 7, p. 437.

4. *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol.3, p. 372; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, July 1933, pp. 436-39; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 190.

5. *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp.372-73; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, July 1933, Xxx.pp.438-39; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, October 1936,pp. 651-52.

The Rohillah Princes Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Zabita Khan with a force/came to face the Marathas. After a clash this group of Khans returned to Jalalabad where the family and property of Najib and his followers lived. The Marathas besieged the place. With this sudden attack of the Marathas, the Afghans found themselves unable to face the large force and took shelter in the Kumaon hills.[2]

Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent a message to the Maratha Sardars to cease hostilities and to make an agreement.[2]

Hearing about this disaster Shuja-ud-daulah marched rapidly in October-November 1759, and reached Chandpur where Najib had encamped. He sent a force under his two commanders Anupgir Gosain and Umraogir Gosain to punish the Marathas. Anupgir Gosain massacred a number of Marathas and captured one hundred alive and plundered a large amount of booty. The Maratha general Govind Pandit took to flight from the battle field and reached the ford of Ja

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1. Panipatcha Rangangram, p. 148; Seir Mutagherin(Eng. Tr.) Vol. III, pp. 372-73; Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos. 138-141; Islamic Culture, October 1936, p. 651-52; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 190.

2. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos. 136, 139; Shindeshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vo.3, No.190 says that Najib Khan and Shuja-ud-daulah wanted to make an agreement.

In utter confusion they missed the ford and a large number of his people were drowned in the Ganges and the rest fled away. After hearing this news the Afghans marched from Kumaon forests and joined Shuja-ud-daulah. The joint armies moved towards Shukartal and released Najib-ud-daulah from his miseries.

The Afghans were familiar with the military strength of the Marathas and thought it proper to enter into peace negotiations with Dattaji and Jankoji.

These Sindia Sardars welcomed these peace proposals as they had heared the news of Abdali's arrival and wanted to make their position safe by marching towards Lahore to check the enemy in Punjab. Dattaji signed an agreement which was accepted by both the parties and marched towards Lahore.[1]

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[1] *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol.3, pp. 373-74; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 148-150; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 114a. This letter written to the Peshwa tells us that 'Abdali attacked from the west so Dattaji Sindia and Jankoji Sindia did not make any agreement, nor made friendship with Shuja-ud-daulah, Par-Ruhelas and Najib Khan and went towards Abdali. So Rohillahs and Shuja-ud-daulah had no hopes of an agreement and they thought in their mind that after getting the victory over Abdali they will not leave our country easily. Abdali has come on our invitation so we should make friendship with him and we should defeat them (the Marathas) unitedly .... They think that after their defeat .... Taimur Shah should be made the Emperor of Delhi and Shuja-ud-daulah become Vazir, Najib Khan should become

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Ahmad Shah Abdali sent his envoy Yaqub Ali Khan with a paper to negotiate the terms with the Marathas as he wanted to make a compromise with them and to end the confusion.[1] The envoy of Abdali reached Delhi.[2]

Najib had informed Ahmad Shah Abdali about Dattaji's position at Shukartal. Abdali collected his forces and in July 1759, he sent his general Jahan Khan to capture Lahore.[3]

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Mir Bakhshi and the arrangement in Delhi and Hindustan should be established. No body is competent to be made Emperor in the family of Taimur and it is not in our hands. Vazir is in the hands of the Marathas. When the Vazir and the Marathas would be powerful, we will get no place. So they decided to invite Abdali." This letter says that Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia did not make any agreement and went towards Abdali; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 140 dated 4th November 1759 says that 'Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah came for the help of Najib. His forces came back. His vakils have come for agreement. After making an agreement with Shuja, the forces will go across; Nos. 138, 139; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 56; *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, Vol. 7, pp. 438-39; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. X, October 1936 pp. 651-52.

[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, Nos. 103,108.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 106; Vol. XXVII, No. 245 dated 7th January 1760.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 106; Najib-ud-Daulah, Ruhela chief, Jadunath Sarkar, *Islamic Culture*, October 1936, p. 652; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 142,143, 144, 146.

This time Dattaji was busy with the siege of Shukartal. Abdali had encamped at Peshawar. Sabaji was present at Lahore with a small force. The Abdali's armies defeated Sabaji Sindia's forces in a battle. Sabaji Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and other Sardars retreated from Lahore and joined Dattaji at Shukartal.[1]

The Maratha forces which had gone as far as Sutlej in April, 1759 under Dattaji and Jankoji, did not stay there long enough to organise the conquests in Punjab. They returned after leaving a Maratha force under Sabaji to hold the Punjab. The Peshwa was in great need of money to pay his heavy debts so he asked Dattaji Sindia to return to Delhi and undertake a new campaign to Bengal to collect money. The Marathas remained in Punjab from April, 1758 to October, 1759 and acted as representatives of the Emperor and collected the revenue with the assistance of local Mughal officers.

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 114a; *Seir Mutakherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp. 378-79; *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, p. 439; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 151-53; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 142, 143.

2. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, pp. 189-190.

On hearing the news of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Dattaji immediately raised the siege of Shukartal on 8th December 1759 and continued his efforts to compel Najib to surrender but he failed in his efforts.[1]

Murder Of The Emperor By Imad-ul-Mulk :

Having known that Abdali was coming towards Delhi from Lahore and his force had reached Sirhind and the Emperor and Abdali were united, Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk murdered the Emperor Alamgir on 29th November. Then Imad-ul-Mulk released Muhiuddin, the grandson of Kambaksh, from the prison and put him on the throne with the title of Shahjahan Sani.[2] The Vazir with the new Emperor joined the forces of Jankoji Sindia.[3]

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1. Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 439; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.), p. 87.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 107; Vol. XXVII, No. 245; Panipatcha Sangangram, p. 151; Seir Mutagherin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 374-75; Shahalam Nama (Pers. Text), Vol. I, pp. 90-97, the writer says that Shahalam wrote letters to Ahmad Shah Durrani as well as to Shuja-ud-daulah and Najib to come and put a check on the rapaceions raids of the Marathas.

3. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos.142-144; In No. 144 the writer says that 'Hearing the news of the arrival of Abdali's forces a great disturbance was created. The troops of the Emperor and the Vazir went to Agra. The Emperor and the Vazir were coming to join the Marathas'. Islamic Culture, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 439; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 247- says that the Vazir and the Emperor went into the camp of Jankoji Sindia, Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.), p. 87.

Hearing the news of the murder of the Emperor, Abdali enthroned his son at Thaneshwar with the title of Taimur Shah and wrote letters to the Rohillahs, Madho Singh and others that he was proceeding in rapid marches to give battle to the Marathas.[1]

Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia marched from Shukartal with the Vazir and on 16th December they crossed the Jamuna near Kunjpura. Here they came to know the correct news that about forty to fifty thousand forces of the Abdali had entered Baladu, Bannu and Chhat districts under Timur Shah, Jahandar Shah, Shahwali Khan and Abdus Samad Khan on 15th December and captured Ambala.

On 22nd December, Dattaji immediately marched from Kunjpura to face Abdali while Jankoji Sindia, Govind Pant and the Vazir with their baggage marched towards Karnal. Some clashes occurred between the fron forces of Abdali and Dattaji. On the same night Abdali crossed the Jamuna near Buriaghat and went to Doab to join Najib.[2]

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[1] *Selections From the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 245.

[2] *Selections From the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 109 dated 21-22, 1759; Nos. 111-113, 117; Vol. XXI, Nos. 178, 183; *Panipatcha Rangangram*, p. 153; p. 153; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhren*, Vol. I, Nos. 147,157.

Dattaji marched from Kunjpura on 27th December, reached Sonepat on 29th and stayed there for five days to watch the movements of the enemy.[1]

After the arrival of Abdali in Doab, Najib Khan, the Rohillas of Par Ganges, Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan and others joined him and they came with fifty thousand force on the bank of the Jamuna near Delhi with the plan of capturing Delhi.[2] The Maratha forces were guarding the ford on this side. On Thursday, 10 January 1760 early in the morning, the forces of the Abdali and the Rohillahs reached on the ford and crossed the Jamuna. A battle was fought between the forces of Abdali and Dattaji at Barari or Buradi Ghat on 10th January 1760 in which Dattaji Sindia was killed. Then Jankoji Sindia faced them and fought for four hours. He also received a bullet in the left part of his arm. The Maratha army retreated from there and suffered heavy losses.[3]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 178.

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos.182,183, 181, 185; Vol. II, No, 117, 114, 114a; Vol. XXVII, No. 247; Shindeshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 220 Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 150, 164, 165; Panipatcha Ransangram, p.109; Islamic Culture, Vol. VII, July 1933, p. 441; Khazani-i-Amira, Tr. by Madhorao Pagadi in Panipatcha Sangram, p.56; Shahalam-Nama, Vol.I, pp. 121-123.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, Nos. 181,182, 185; Vol. XXVII, No. 247; Vol. II, No. 114; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 220 dated 16.1.1760; Islamic Culture, Vol.7, July 1933, p. 441; Seir Mutagherin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp. 379-380; Khazana-i Amira vide Panipatcha Ransangram, p.56; Shahalam Nama(Pers. Text), Vol.I,pp.48-49,120-122; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 150, 165, 164.

From Bararighat the Maratha army reached upto the boundary of Jaipur via Rewari and through the country of the Jats. Jankoji with his followers reached Paniala near Kotputli on 14th January. Malhar Holkar joined them with his forces at Kotputli on 15th January. They intended to march towards Delhi with their combined forces for a combat with Abdali and the Rohillahs and left their non combatants there.[1]

After his victory Abdali entered into Delhi and appointed Yakub Ali Khan as the governor of Delhi to make the arrangements there. He plundered and massacred Delhi city for two days.[2]

Now Abdali sent his Vakils with letters to Madho Singh the Raja of Jaipur, to Surajmal Jat, and to Shuja-ud-daulah to send tribute and to come to meet him to drive out the Maratha Sardars from northern India. Surajmal asked Abdali to be the Emperor of Delhi and settle the problem of the

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar* , Vol. XXVII, No. 247 dated 16th January 1760; Vol.II, No. 14; Vol. XXI, No. 185 dated 8.2.1760 says that Malhar Holkar with the forces of Jats and Madho Singh reached there, joined Jankoji Sindia and went to Delhi sending their cambatants for Gwalior with Govind Ballal; ~~also~~ Nos. 182, 183, 181; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p.160; *Shahalam Nama* (Pers. Text), Vol.I, p. 123; *Marathavancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Nos. 153, 165,150, 147.

[2] *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 161.

Marathas, then he assured to pay the tribute, otherwise he told him that he could do nothing. Madho Singh returned the same answer. They thought that after the decisive contest between Abdali and the Marathas they would join the powerful party.[1]

At first Jankoji Sindia had planned/that with the help of Malhar Holkar, he would divide the Rohillahs, give the Vazirship to Shuja-ud-daulah and come to arrangement with Abdali.[2] But now Dattaji had been killed, Jankoji wounded and the Maratha force was defeated. At Kotputli all of them decided to send the camp baggage and non-combatants on the other side of Chambal river to Govind Ballal.[3] Malhar Rao and Jankoji did not go directly towards Delhi but passed through Kanaud and collected the ranson of ten thousand rupees.[4]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 186 Dated 1.3.1760, Vol. II, No. 118, dated 5.3.1760 says that 'Abdali has called Shujaud-daulah and the prince. Abdali has asked for tribute from Shuja-ud-daulah. He does not go to him due to fear. In the same way he sent messages to Ahmad Khan Bangash and Surajmal Jat. The Kamavisdars of Doab, Bundelkhand and Malwa are afraid due to the danger of Abdali. The eyes of all are towards Malhar....'; Panipatcha Ransangram, pp. 163-164.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vo. XXI, No. 183 Dated 3.2.1760

3. Panipatcha Ransangram, p. 162; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 185, says that the non combatants were sent to Gwalior with Govind Ballal; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 162 dated Dated 4th February 1760.

4. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.II, No. 118.

Malhar Holkar with Jankoji and Naro Shankar reached at Narnol and stopped the supply of Abdali.[1] Abdali had sent letters to Surajmal, Madho Singh, Shuja-ud-daulah and the other Rajas to come to meet him or to send the forces or the tribute. These Rajas continued correspondence because on one hand they were afraid of the Sardars and on the other of Abdali. Malhar Holkar reached near Sikandrabad, the country of Najib Khan in Doab. There he destroyed and plundered the posts of Najib and the country on the other side of the Ganges.[2] Now Malhar encamped at four kos distance from Sikandra. Abdali sent a force of thirty to thirty five thousand under Jaban Khan and Najib Khan to face them. A battle was fought between the forces of Abdali and Gangadhar Pant near Sikanderabad. Malhar fled from there and crossed the Jamuna near Mathura and reached Bharatpur in the jat country. After one or two days Gangadhar Pant also reached there. In the battle many good soldiers were killed. Their camp, baggage and booty came into Abdali's hands.[3]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 186; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 162.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 187, dated 10.3.1760; Vol. II, Nos. 120, 121.

3. *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p.162; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, No. 403; *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 162; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 188, dated 14.3.1760; Vol. II, No. 121 dated 13.3.1760. The letter says that in the battle Anandrao Yadhav, Shetyaji Kharade and his son, Fakirji, all the three were killed; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 442.

After reaching Bharatpur they called the Vakil of Hafiz Rahmat Khan in the presence of Nawab Vazir and discussed peace terms proposed by Hafiz. The Vakil visited Gangadhar Pant. Hafiz Rahmat Khan agreed to come and visit the Maratha Sardars, to compel Abdali to return and to join the Marathas for the arrangement of Najib on the condition that the Maratha Sardars would not go or ravage his country. This agreement was made, sworn to and the Vakil was given departure.[1] But the Marathas were not satisfied with this agreement as Najib never agreed with the view that Abdali should return from India. Najib and other Rohillahs requested Abdali not to return from India haunted by the fear that after his return the Marathas would destroy them.[2]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.II, No. 121, Dated 13.3.1760; The letter says that the Sardar remained at fifteen or sixteen kos distance from Bharatpur. Surajmal came and visited him. The sardar gave assurance of friendship and sworn to ...' No. 124 says that 'Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohillah came to Bharatpur from the force of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Gangadhar Pant was there from our side. The Rohillahs proposed for peace but this agreement was not according the united forces will defeat the enemy'. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen. Vol.I, Nos. 191,196, 199, 204; Tarikh i Muzaffari, Mohammad Ali Khan Ansari, (Pers. Text), pp. 177-78; Mirat-i Ahmadi, vide Panipatcha Sangram, p. 46 says that "Jnkoji Sindia, Ghazi-ud-din and Surajmal came to meet Malharrao. For many days Ghazi-ud-din with the advice of Malharrao and with the consent of Surajmal conducted the negotiations for an agreement through Najib Khan about his Vazirship, the arrangement of the Emperor and the problem of the Marathas. They could not be fruitful."

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol.II, No. 124; Panipatcha Ransangram, p. 164; Islamic Culture, Vol.7, year 1933, p. 442.

After attaining victory over the Marathas, Abdali went to Koil in Doab while Najib Khan and Jahan Khan went near Itawa. Holkar was in the country of the Jats and was waiting for the arrival of fresh forces from the Deccan for another round of fight with Abdali.[1]

All the *Maratha Sardars* as *Jankoji Sindia*, *Malharrao*, Raja Keshav Rao, Govind Pant and Hingne wrote letters to the Poona Court to send reinforcements.[2] The Peshwa had no other alternative except sending a very powerful army under the most able commander for his success in the north. The Peshwa wanted to give the command of north expedition to Raghunathrao, his own younger brother, as he had the experience of the expeditions in Hindustan in 1754-55 and 1757-58.[3] Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the brother of Balaji had taunted Raghunath Rao that from the last Delhi expedition when Raghunath Rao had returned, he had a heavy debt and even the salaries of the soldiers were not paid.[1] It was decided by all to send another army under the command of Sadashivrao Bhau. The Peshwa's eldest son Vishasrao was also sent as commander-in-chief with his army.[2]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 124; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p. 164; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, Year 1933, p. 442.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 188 dated 14.3.1760; vol. II, No. 118; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 160, 167.

[3] *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 165-166 also p. 2; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXVII, 257 dated 5.3.1760. The Peshwa had written in this letter that he was sending Raghunathrao towards north immediately, letter No. 252 - this letter says that Sadashivrao Bhau and Raghunathrao were moving towards north to face Abdali.

Bhau marched from Patdur on 14th March and reached at Sindkhed and stayed there for a few days to collect the money etc. for the compaign.[3]

Bhau wrote letters to his Sardars in Northern India to get the help of the Rajas of Rajputana and Bundelkhand with their forces and to keep Shuja-ud-daulah, the Prince, and the Subahdar of Bengal on Maratha side. He also sent letters to his Sardars and tax-collectors in Northern India

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1. *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 165-166; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 66, letter No. 168; Kashiraj has given the amount or debt about eighty-eight lakhs.

2. *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 165-166; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 172, 245, 168 - The last letter says that the Peshwa and Bhau met at Patdur on 7th March 1760 and discussed for a week about who should be sent to Hindustan. Ultimately it was decided to send Bhau Sahen to Hindustan; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 168 gives the date of the meeting at Patdur on 10th March, *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, 403; *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p. 362; *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, Vol. 7, p. 442.

3. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 168, 169, 167; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, p.3, 175; also No. 2,3. The writer has given a long list of the sardars and *Saranjamdars*, who accompanied Bhau, p. 177 gives a list of ammunition to be despatched with the armies proceeding to the north, *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 122.

demanding money.[1]

Bhau reached the Chambal on 8th June, 1760. Sindia and Holkar were at Karoli, on the north bank of the Chambal river.[2] Bhau ordered his Sardars not to ravage the country of the Jats. The Peshwa wanted to keep the Jat Rajah on his side.[3] Bhau encamped close to Gambhir river. He was expecting to join the Maratha sardars within one or two days.[4]

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[1] Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 167, 171 - In the second letter Govind Ballal has been written to send rupees twenty-five lakhs immediately also Nos. 173,174,176,170,180, Letter No. 174 says that 'Bhau has reached at Sihor with a strong force, Gardis and artillery. He was marching towards Marwar with the forces of Bundelas and the Rajas. He had sent letters and vakils to Madho Singh, Vijai Singh and the Rana of Kota. All of them will be united after his arrival there. With the help of all of them and with the Jats and Malhar Rao Holkar Abdali will be defeated. Govind Ballal was ordered to bring Hindupat, Khet Singh and other people etc. Panipatcha Ransangram, No. 2, p. 3.

[2] Panipatcha Ransangram, No.3, p.5; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 186, 187.

[3] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 126; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, P. 171.

[4] Panipatcha Ransangram, No.3, p. 5; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 200 - Bhau wrote Govind Ballal on 10th June 1760 that he has crossed the river Chambal. Agra is at 18 kos distance from here. Sindia and Holkar were expected to meet him within one to two days. Then they would make the arrangement for crossing the river Gambhir and go to Agra" ~~also~~, Nos. 191, 194, 195, 196, 199, 203,204; Marathas and Panipat, Hari Ram Gupta, Chandigarh, 1961, p. 151.

Malhar Rao Holkar and Jankoji Sindia joined Bhau on 18th June and Surajmal on 30th June. Surajmal met Bhau through the mediation of Malhar Holkar. The Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk also had a conference with Bhau through the mediation of Surajmal.[1]

Surajmal agreed to help the Marathas with a contingent of ten thousand and to give refuge to their ladies and non-combatants on the basis that the Jat country should not be pillaged and no tribute should be levied from him as the Jat country was on the main route of the Maratha army.[2] All the Muslim rulers of the North were united against the Marathas. Other Hindu rulers and the Rajput Princes did not join the Marathas which weakened their financial resources and military strength.

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 127; *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 217A, Intro. , p. 127A; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol.I, No. 387 says that Malhar rao and Jankoji joined Bhau on 18th June and Surajmal and Imad-ul-Mulk on 30th June; *Islamic Culture*, Vol.7, July 1933, p. 443 says that Bhau reached Mathura. Surajmal and Imad-ul-Mulk came from Mathura and joined him. *Seir-ul Mutagherin*(Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 382-83 says that Bhau reached Agra. Surajmal paid him a visit through Malhar's mediation. The Maratha General marched out of his camp and met him at one kos distance. The next day Imad himself joined him at Mathura; *Marathas and Panipat*, p.152.

2. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 190, Vol. XXVII, No. 255 says that the tribute was to be collected from Surajmal Jat but this time Bhau refuses for it; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II, pp. 417-18.

Abdali sent Najib Khan and Jahan Khan to negotiate with Shuja-ud-daulah. The Marathas also sent a letter to Shuja-ud-daulah and sent their envoys Naro Shankar and Ramji Anant. Thus both of them were trying to secure Shuja-ud-daulah's help.[1] Shuja-ud-daulah was the old enemy of Najib while Malhar had friendly terms with him. Bhau thought it necessary to keep Shuja-ud-daulah on his side so he wrote letters to Govind Pant Bundela to seek the alliance of Shuja-ud-daulah before coming to a clash with Abdali. Bhau had thought that after the arrival of a Maratha army near Delhi, Shuja-ud-daulah would reject Abdali's invitation or would remain neutral due to the fear of a Maratha reprisals and an invasion on his territory. According to his policy, Bhau while at Malwa, had ordered Govind Ballal to collect boats near Etawa and build up a bridge hastely over the Jamuna near Etawa to cross into the Doab, with a view to driving out the Afghans from their posts and thus insert a wedge between the Afghan possessions in upper Doab and Shuja's dominions.[2]

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 127; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol.I, No. 387; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Nos. 167,173,179-180, 187-189. These letters say that Shamji Rangnarth was sent as a Vakil to Shuja-ud-daulah; Nos.190,215.

2. *Panipatcha Rangangram*, No. 3, p. 5; *Marathavancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 216; *Marathas and Panipat*, pp. 134-136.

On the other hand Govind Ballal could not raid the province of Shuja-ud-daulah and the Jagirs of Najib in upper Doab but Najib Khan and Jahan Khan threatened the Maratha posts in Middle Doab in the middle of May. The Afghans besieged the Maratha posts of Etawa and Sakurabad.[1]

In the mean time Ratan Shah created disturbances in Bundelkhand.[2] Disturbances were created in Kashi also.[3]

Learning of these disturbances Bhau informed Govind Ballal to request the thanahdars to defend their posts as Bhau would arrive there soon and face the situation.[4] But in July Najib was successful in winning over Shuja-ud-daulah to his side.[5]

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1. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos.181, 209, 194,195,199,205; Marathas and Panipat, p.135.

2. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 184.

3. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 185.

4. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos.200, 205, 212, 215.

5. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Nos. 212,215,216, 220, 236 - In the last letter Govind Ballal reported on 31st July that Shuja-ud-daulah saw Abdali in Anupshahr. Abdali gave him a warm welcome. The next day he offered him the robes of Prime Ministership. Also No. 227 dated 12 August 1760 - Bhau informed Govind Ballal that Shujauddaulah has written to me that though he has gone to Abdali, he will do what is good for us: Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 127; Islamic Culture, July 1933, Vol. 7, p. 443.

When Bhau came to know that Shuja-ud-daulah had gone to Abdali's side, he decided to send his troops in to Doab across the Jamuna and to attack the country of Shuja-ud-daulah. But he could not succeed in his plan.[1]

Hafiz Rahmat Khan came from Abdali on 16th May, 1760, had a meeting with Malhar Rao Holkar and proposed peace negotiations but no agreement could be made because the terms proposed by the Marathas were exhorbitant.[2] On 14th July Bhau reached Agra with Malhar Holkar, Jankoji and Surajmal and after two days he reached Mathura.[3]

Bhau made a plan immediately. On 21st July be sent a detachment of ten thousand under Malhar Rao, Jankoji and Balwantrao and other Sardars with Imad-ul-Mulk to capture Delhi from Yakub Ali Khan, brother to the Vazir of Abdali. The Marathas had captured Delhi city. After this they besieged the Imperial fort. On 28th July Bhau himself reached Delhi from Mathura. The struggle for the fort continued for two to three days. Abdali could not send

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1. Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos.212, 215, 216.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, Nos. 121, 124,127; Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos. 186, 191, 194-196, 198-200, 204,209,212,215, 217; Vol. VI, No. 509.

3. Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 217; Panipatcha Rangsangram, No. 3, p. 5.

any help for the help of Yakub Ali Khan in the fort due to the flood in the Jamuna. Yakub Ali Khan sued for terms of peace. Bhau accepted it. Yakub Ali Khan came out of the fort with his female relatives and property and went to join Abdali. The Marathas captured the fort on Ist August 1760 and established their hold over it.[1]

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1. *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 222, 223, 224, 227, 246. The last letter says that about four of five thousand pyadas and sawars were killed. The ghat of Yamuna from Agra upto Kunjpura came into Maratha hands; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 191; Vol. XXVII, No. 256, 258; Vol. II, No. 131; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 389; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, No. 3, *Seir-ul Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 383-84, The writer says that Imad-ul-mulk and Surejmal Jat who had come with the Marathas did not help them in this stage. They remained only spectators; *Imad-ul-Sadat* (Pers. Text), p. 181; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 443. The writer says that Bhau reached Delhi on 24th July and after 13 days took the possession of the fort after a ~~a 13 days took the possession of the fort after a~~ compromise; *Tarikh-i Muzaffari*, (Pers. Text), 180-183; *Marathas and Panipat*, pp. 153-54 says that Bhau reached Delhi on 29th July; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 178 says that Bhau reached Delhi on 29th July and captured Delhi Fort on 3rd August.

After a few days Naro Shankar was appointed Subahdar of Delhi and Baloji Palande as the incharge of the fort to serve under the Subahdar.[1]

After the capture of Delhi fort by Bhau another attempt for peace was made. Shuja-ud-daulah and Najib Khan started peace negotiations between the Peshwa and Abdali and sent their envoy Raja Devidatt with the proposal that fugitive Shah Alam should be made the Emperor, his eldest son Jawan Bakht should be put on Delhi throne as his heir the post of Vazir should be given to Shuja-ud-daulah, Shah Abdali should go back to his country and the Marathas proceed back to the Deccan.[2]

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[1] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 258, 256; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sachnen*, Vol. I, No.237. Sadashiv Chimnaji wrote to Govind Ballal, "At present I have sent Naro Shankar to Delhi with 3000 foot and 3000 horse and have made all the arrangements'; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 389, *Panipatcha Ransangram*, No. 4, *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 154.

[2] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 191; Vol. XXII, No. 256 - says that 'Negotiations for a treaty are continued from Shuja-ud-daulah and Najib Khan but are not expected to succeed. In the letter No. 233 dated 21 August 1760 Bhau wrote that Najib Khan and Shuja are both trying for terms with me, but the talks are not systematic and worthy of decision; In No. 237 says Bhau wrote to Govind Ballal that 'Rohillahs and Abdali on the other bank are negotiating about a treaty. Shuja is taking a leading part in the talks. Shuja is speaking in good terms but these Muslims can not be relied upon'; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 256 says that 'Shuja and Najib are probably trying to bring about a compromise. Very likely there will be a war; ~~also~~ Vol. XXI, No. 191 dated 17th September 1760 says that "Abdali with Najib and

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On 3rd the Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk and Surajmal Jat became angry and went to Ballamgarh quitting their camp at Sarai Badarpur without the permission of Bhau. The Maratha Sardars went to bring them back but failed. The departure of Surajmal was a great loss to the Maratha cause as there was no other ally of the Marathas in Northern

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Shuja has encamped at Patpatganj on the opposite bank of Jamuna. Negotiations are being carried on through Shuja's camp. But the talks will not take a good turn. A battle alone with decide the matter', Vol. II, No. 130 the last letter says that 'the level of Jamuna will not come down within a month or so. Battle will take place after this period. I think there will not be a compromise; Imad-us-Sadat, (Pers. Text), p. 184; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos. 222, 227, 237; Purandare Daftar, Vol. I, No. 389 says that Najib Khan's proposal forwarded through Shuja-ud-daulah was that the boundry of Abdali should be Sarhind, the arrangement of Delhi affairs should be in their hands, Shuja-ud-daulah wanted the Vazirship and Bakhshi-ship. Najib Khan wanted Bakhshigiri. Due to the river no clash is possible between the two armies so they have sent a message. Bhau's idea was to fix the boundary at Attock while the Imperial affairs would be left as they were. Such an agreement should be made. But no agreement can be made without our will. After getting a ford in the river there will be a fighting. This letter was written by Sadashiv Chimnaji to Dhondo Malhar. Marathas and Panipat, p. 166, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 181-182, Panipatcha Rangangram, No. 4 says that 'Shujauddaulah is proposing terms for peace. Bhavani Shankar went and came from there. It will take one or two months in falling the water.'

India.[1]

The peace negotiations with Bhau continued throughout August and September but no result could be achieved because the demands of the Peshwa could not be fulfilled.[2]

The capture of Delhi by the Marathas created despair in the Afghan camp.[3]

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 258; *Seir Mutagherin.* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p. 385 says that Surajmal Jat went to Ballamgarh quitting the Maratha camp because Bhau had stripped of the silver of imperial hall of audience and sent it to the mint; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, No. 27, pp. 61-64 says that an agreement was made between the Vazir and Surajmal Jat that the fort of Agra and the management of Delhi would be given to the Jats. But now as the Marathas captured Agra and Delhi Surejmal became angry and went to Ballamgarh; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 259 says that the Jat is in Ballamgarh. There will be no problem in the supply of food and fodder from that place. He will send a force under his son for the Maratha help. They should encamp there and create the obstacles on the other side; also No. 224. In letter No. 264 Bhau writes to Govind Ballal that the Jats will not creat any obstacle.They won't be enemies. *Imad-us-Sadat* (Pers. Text), pp.179-180 says that a difference of opinion arose between Bhau and Surajmal about the plan of campaign against Abdali; *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 153 says that Holkar was agreed with Surajmal's plan but as Bhau disliked Holkar and from the connection between Holkar and the Jats, he became prejudice to Surajmal. Bhau rejected the proposalaas the chatter of goathards and zamindars who were ignorant of scientific war; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp.178-179 says that due to the entertainment of the porposal of Shuja-ud-daulah,Imad-ul-Mulk and Surajmal Jat became angry and went to Ballamgarh.
2. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, ed. A.B. Phalke, Gwalior, 1930, Vol. II, No.297; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 130.
3. *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 224, 233, 246.

It increased Maratha difficulties also. Abdali had occupied the tract east of Delhi. The food supply from Doab was completely stopped. Maratha soldiers and horses were starving. The capture of Delhi on the other hand increased his expenditure to about one lakh in one month as he had to spend for the maintenance of Delhi fort, of the Princes, for the salaries of palace servants and court officials. No loan or money was available. Bankers had already disappeared. The financial resources were exhausted because no tribute could be collected.[1]

The Peshwa had ordered his local revenue officers to pay the half to Bhau and the rest half in Poona treasury from their real collection of revenue but the tax collectors did not pay either to Bhau or the Peshwa.[2]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, Nos. 130,131, Vol. XXVII, No. 255. The letter says that "Bhau could not collect the tribute from the Jats and Jainagar. The country around Delhi has become deserted due to the continuous presence of the forces. The bankers of this region have dispersed, hence no loan can be raised here. Bhau wrote that I am not getting money from any side neither from our mahals in Doab which are disturbed nor from tribute which is being evaded by our local chiefs" No. 257; Vol. XXI, No. 193.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 257; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 230,231; Bhau writes to Govind Ballal to send the amount of rupees 25 lakhs - 10 lakhs of the last years and fifteen lakhs as tribute as soon as possible

On 5th August Bhau wrote a letter from Delhi that the money was not available any where and wrote the Peshwa to send him financial aid immediately. His soldiers were fasting. So on 6th August Bhau removed the remaining silver ceiling of Diwan-i Khas in the fort and coined the silver into nine lakhs rupees. Out of that he gave some amount to the Sardars and some to the forces. This money helped Bhau to maintain his army for one month.[1] Bhau writes from Delhi in September 1760, "There is a great paucity of money to be paid to the soldiers. There is no money to pay the rojmura of even a week in the month. The people are fasting. No loan is available. We have captured Delhi city and the fort. There is a great treasury in the fort but it can not be captured. If we could search the hiding places we could receive ten or twenty krores. But we can not go in the Zanankhana of the Emperor. But Bhau was trying to discover the secret."[2]

Bhau himself went to Shalimar garden and encamped there from 12 August to 10th October.[3] Bhau thought it proper to march towards Kunjpura to save his soldiers from starvation. There was a big ford at Jamuna near Kunjpura. Where there was a great store of food and provisions in the fort belonging to Abdali. Abdali had also kept some forces there.[1]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, 257; Seir Mutagherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp. 385-86 says that the capture of Doab did not give Bhau any chance of subsistence and every thing in Delhi territory was consumed.

[2] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, XXVII, 258; Vol. XXI, 193 Dated 20 October 1760; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, pp. 185-186.

[3] Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.6, No. 404 dated 17 September 1760.

On 10th October Bhau sent Nama Purandare, Ramaji Anant, son of Gangadhar Chandrachud, Laxman Ballal, Bhawani Shankar Pant and Apaji Jadhav to Delhi. On this day they removed Shahjahan II from the throne and declared Ali Gohar, the son of Alamgir II, as the Emperor, with the title of Shah Alam II. He struck coins in his name. They made Mirza Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Ali Gohar, his heir and vicar. The post of Vazir was given to Shuja-ud-daulah with a view to keeping him away from Abdali's side.[2]

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1. Panipatcha Ransangram, L. No. 6; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 193; Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 258, dated 14th October 1760.

2. Panipatcha Ransangram, No. 6, Ali Gohar was in Bengal this time. The Marathas kept him on his side. Bhau made an agreement for the nazar of one krore for putting Ali Gohar on the throne. Out of that 25 lakhs were to be taken immediately and the rest 75 lakhs on his seating on the throne. Out of these 25 lakhs, 10 lakhs were to be paid in the form of ornaments and the rest in cash; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, Nos. 233, 234, 392; also Vol. 4, No. 60 Selections From Peshwa Daftar, XXI, No. 197; Seir Mutaqherin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, pp. 366-87; Marathas and Panipat, p. 164; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, No. 590.

Surajmal made the agreement to send his son with a force in the service of Bhau.[1]

The talks for negotiation were still going on.[2] Bhau captured Kunjpura on 17th October 1760. Najabat Khan, the governor of Kunjpura was captured with his family and all his baggage was plundered. Najabat Khan was severely wounded and died in captivity. About ten thousand force of Abdus Samad Khan the Abdali's governor of Sirhind was exterminated. Kunjpura was plundered and destroyed. "Ten thousand Khandi of wheat, Rs. 6½ lakhs in cash, a few thousand horses, the provisions of few lakhs, except the camels, elephants were plundered by the Marathas at Kunjpura. The Maratha troops were given rojmura in the form of grain. The soldiers plundered huge amounts on the day of

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1. Panipatcha Ransangram, No. 6; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 259 says that the Jats are in Ballamgarh. There should not be any disturbance in the supply of tribute etc. His son and force will come in the service of Bhau. The Jat is on our side but is not reliable.

2. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, No. 259. In this letter Bhau says that as soon as the water level of Jamuna will fall down, our plan is to make the arrangement of Abdali. The talks for negotiation are still going on but they are still indesisive. They are not proper. No agreement will be made without the wish.

fighting."[1]

Bhau stayed at Kunjpura for about a week. On 25th October Bhau marched towards Kurukshetra for the pilgrimage and then to march towards Sirhind, caputre it and to refresh his army taking the Jats, Sikhs and Zamindars into his army. He had marched a little distance then he came to know that Abdali after hearing the news of Kunjpura, crossed Jamuna at Baghpat and reached Sonipat with his army between 25th to 27th October. His army crossed the river and marched towards Panipat. Hearing this news Bhau who had marched towards Kurukshetra from Kunjpura retraced his steps. Bhau reached Panipat on 29th October. A battle occurred in which two to three thousandswere killed and wounded.

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[1] *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 234 Dated 8 November 1760 says that 5-6 thousand men were killed and 6 or 7 thousand were wounded. Ten thousand horse, 5 or 6 elephants and camels and other things were brought by the Marathas in their camp, ~~also~~ No. 233; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 4, Nos. 60, 392, 507; Vol. I Nos. 225, 258 No. 195 says that about 6 or 6.5 in cash and different things of about 2 lakhs fall into the hands of the Marathas, Nos. 192, 193, 197, 198; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 341, *Aitihasaik Patravyavhar*, No. 97; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, No. 7, *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3, pp. 388-89; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, pp. 444-445; *Imad-us Sadat* (Pers. Text), p. 186; 'Events leading to the battle of Panipat 1760', Jadunath Sarkar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, September 1935, p. 547.

This time Abdali had reached at four or six miles distance from Panipat. Thus the two armies encamped on both the banks of the flooded river Jamuna.[1] Abdali had fixed his camp near Panipat on Ist November 1760.[2]

Every day there occurred skirmishes between the two parties. Bhau sent letters to Govind Ballal to go into upper Doab to stop the supply of grain and other provisions to Abdali camp and also to destroy the posts of Najib in Mirat division and to plunder the territory of the Rohillahs and Shuja-ud-daulah's northern districts after crossing the Ganges.[3]

After reaching Panipat Bhau started fortifying his position. He laid his camp in the city of Panipat. He defended his camp from all sides with artillery. Abdali had established his camp at about four kos distance from the Maratha's trench. He also defended his position by a strong entrenchment round his camp. Shuja-ud-daulah, Najib Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, Ahmad Khan of Farrukhabad, all were with Abdali.[1]

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[1] *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 14, 227-228; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 197, 192, 194; Vol. XXVII, No. 259, *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 261, 260, 265; *Imad-us Sadat* (Pers. Text) pp. 187-188; *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, Vol.7, pp. 445-46; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No.392; *Marathas and Panipat*, pp. 168-169.

[2] *Marathavancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 261, Dated I November 1760; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 446, *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 169.

[3] *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 19-20, 15-17, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, September 1935, p.550; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No.261 dated Ist November 1760, Nos. 164 and 260.

Every day there were skirmishes between the two parties. The men and horses were being killed daily but there was no heavy loss. On 7th November, Krishna Joshi Sangameshwar was killed by a musket ball.[2]

Two battles were fought in the month of November between the forces of the Marathas and Abdalis.[3] Bhau had written to Naro Shankar and Govind Ballal to send money and other supplies immediately but no funds could be obtained from them.[4]

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, September 1935, pp. 550-51; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, XXVII,259 dated 14.11.1759 says that Abdal has a force of 40,000. Our force is about 60,000 including the two sardars.

[2] *Panipatcha Rangangram*, pp. 15-17; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, No. 97; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 265; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 262.

[3] *Panipatcha Rangangram*,pp. 14-15; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 429; *Marathas and Panipat*,p.194. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3 September 1935, p. 553 says 'In the course of three or four gharis, three to four thousand men were killed and wounded on both sides, taken together'. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, 197; *Panipatcha Rangangram*, pp. 15-17 - says that five or seven hundred men of the enemy were killed. One thousand or 1500 were wounded. *Marathas and Panipat*, pp. 184-195; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No.221.

[4] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, XXI No.197; *Panipatcha Rangangram*, p. 15.

Throughout the month of November the spirits of Maratha troops were very high. As a letter of Krishna Joshi of 5th November says - "The Yavan is very much afraid and does not come. Our troops are daily killing his 50 or 100 men and capturing their camels and horses. His food supply has been stopped, so flour sells at three seers, gram at four seers and ghee at half seer to the rupee, while in our camp the rates are wheat 16 seers, gram 12 and ghee two and a half seers. All our troops are convinced that Abdali, Najib and Shuja would be destroyed......"[1]

Again on 7th December, Najib Khan with four to five thousand soldiers attacked a Maratha party who were arranging their guns in certain position. Balwantrao Mehendele, the cousin of Bhau, fought bravely with the enemy. The fighting continued upto three hours after the night fall. In a charge Balwantrao fell down from the horse by a samburak ball on his chest and died. The greatest loss on Mratha side was the loss of Mahendele. After a while the troops of both sides went back.[2]

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1. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos. 265, 264, 261, Purandare Daftar, Vol. I, No. 391, Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, No. 234.

2. Panipathcha Ransangram, pp. 18-19 says that about 150 men were killed or wounded on Maratha side and the casualty on the side of the enemy was 1500 men; Aitihasic Patravyavhar, No. 97 says that about 150 men were killed and 500 or 700 were wounded on Maratha side; Indian Historical Quaterly, Vol.XI, No.3, pp. 563-64, Seir Mutacharin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 3,pp.388-89; Marathas and Panipat, p. 196; Islamic Culture, July 1933, Vol. 7, p. 449 says that about 1500 Rohillahs were slain.

Bhau lost his right arm due to the loss of Balvantrao as he was Bhau's supreme adviser and the most responsible commander in his retinue. After this battle every thing went against the Marathas.[1]

Bhau had ordered Govind Ballal earlier to stop the supplies of Abdali from Doab, to destroy Mirat and Bulandshahar districts of Najib and to despatch grain and money to Panipat. Accordingly Govind Ballal with ten to twelve thousand horse marched from Etawa and reached near Delhi. The Marathas plundered many villages in the territory of Sikandrabad. Govind Ballal had stopped the grain supply into Abdali's camp so there was a scarcity of grain in Abdali's camp.

Abdali sent Atai Khan with the task of bringing the head of Govind Ballal. On 16th December they arrived at Shahdara and killed Naro Shankar's deputy with his whole force. On 17th , December, 1760 they killed Govind Ballal Bundele in a raid in the Upper Doab. The Afghans took possession of the vast stores of provisions from the plunder of two Maratha camps.[1]

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[1] Seir Mutagherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol. III, p. 388; Panipatcha Ransangram, p. 18; Marathas and Panipat, p. 197.

After some time another Maratha raid in lower Doab also failed. By the order of Bhau, Gopalrao and Krishannand with their small forces marched to attack Shuja-ud-daulah's country. They plundered the villages of Phulpur and Nawabganj. The Oudh forces reached there immediately and attacked the Marathas. All the Marathas were dispersed. Gopal Rao Barve saved himself with about seven *sawars* going to Kora Jahenabad.[2]

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1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, year 1935, pp. 551-52; *Seir Mutakherin*, (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p. 389 says that Abdali , Atai Khan and the son of late Abdul Ahmad Khan with a force of five thousand to defeat the Marathas under Govind Ballal; *Panipatcha Ransangram*, pp. 19-20; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, p. 97 says that Abdali sent a force of ten thousand to defeat ~~Ballal had him~~ him; *Islamic Culture*, Vol.7, July 1933, p. 451 says that Govind Ballal had ten thousand troops with him. Atai Khan Qarim Dad Khan and Qarim Khan went to attack govind Ballal; *Aitihasik Tipne*, Part 3, p. 55; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 4, No. 511; Vol. I, No. 272 - says that a battle was fought between the forces of Abdali and Govind Ballal near Ghaziuddinnagar.

2. *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 4, No. 511; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 134.

Govind Pant had sent Rs.4,20,000 to Naro Shankar at Delhi. Bhau despatched Krishnarao Ballal with some horse to bring the treasure to his camp. Naro Shankar sent the amount of Rs.1,10,000 with Krishnarao on 21st December which safely reached Bhau's camp. On Ist January the remaining amount was sent by 300 troopers each carrying five hundred rupees under the command of Parashar Dadaji. Out of these six men returned by the end of the day and returned the money. The remaining troopers marched but by mistake reached Abdali's camp and started calling his men. Abdali's troops understood that they were Marathas and killed all of them and plundered their treasures.[1]

One day about twenty thousand Marathas marched to collect grass and firewood from their camp in the night. There was a forest of Dhak trees. Shah Pasand Khanssurrounded and destroyed them. No body came to help the Marathas due to night.[2]

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1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, September 1935, p. 552 has given that 2,000 cavalry was sent to Naro Shankar to bring the treasure and each man was bringing the amount of Rs. 2,000; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 281; *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 251; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II,pp.230-31. *Islamic Culture*, July 1933, Vol. 7, pp. 449-49 says that Naro Shankar gave 500 troopers 500 Ashrafi each.

2. *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3 September 1935, pp. 554-556.

At last Bhau attempted to save his army from destruction by requesting Shuja-ud-daulah to establish peace between him and Abdali by any means possible. The Abdali Vazir Shah Wali Khan also accepted the peace proposal. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was also ready to make peace. But Najib was not ready to make peace and told the Shah not to accept the peace proposal and to fight the Marathas in a battle.

By 13th January the soldiers of Bhau were suffering hard due to the shortage of food and firewood in their camp and there was no grass available for the horses. Hundreds of people were dying every day due to famine. Animals also lost their life in a large number.[2] Finally the besieged generals and soldiers of Bhau's camp decided in the night of 13th January to attack the enemy before day break.[3] Both the armies had encamped close to each other for three months.[3]

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1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, year 1935, pp. 554-556; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, pp. 449-450; *Marathas and Panipat*, pp.204-205.

2. *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, year 1935, pp. 556-557; *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3. pp. 389-90; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 451; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.6, No.406 the letter says that 'Abdali had cut the supplies to our camp. So a femine was created. The prices of grain because very high. The people could not get grain. Many horses died.

3. *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, year 1935 pp. 556-557.

On 14th February the Marathas started firing guns and muskets on the enemy, inflicting casulties on Abdali's soldiers. Both the armies slowly marched and took the position at a short distance from each other.

After gun firing the other weapons ensued.

On the other hand, Bhau with household cavalry and Vishwasrao and some other generals made an attack on Vazir, Shah Wali Khan. There was a heavy and thick fighting.[1]

Vishwasrao was struck by a bullet and fell dead. This news reached Bhau. Bhau ordered to keep the body of Vishwasrao on his own elephant. Bhau attacked the division of Vazir, Shah Wali Khan. The Maratha army started thinning out and all around there were heaps of corpses.

Bhau was wounded by a spear and a bullet shot in his thigh. An Afghan trooper attacked and wounded him with his spear. Other troopers went to kill Bhau. Finally his head was severed and taken away.[2]

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[1] 'Panipat, 1761' Jadunath Sarkar, *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol. X, Year 1934, pp. 261-62, says that "The grand Vazir stood with a hundred or two hundred troops and fifty zamburak camels with their knees tied together placed in front of him."

[2] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, year 1934, pp. 264-65, 271-72; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, No. 406; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, pp. 453-54; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 417 says that Vishwasrao was killed by a bullet shot. All the important Sardars took flight. Only Bhau was fighting with 50 *sawars*.

Ibrahim Khan Gardi was imprisoned and beheaded. Thousands of Marathas who were not killed during the battle and were roaming alone were plundered, stripped off all their belongings and killed by the peasants in a large number. Shamsher Bahadur was also killed by some of the plunderers. Among the inferior officers only Mahadji Sindia and Malhar Holkar could save their life.[1]

At quarter to three in the afternoon almost all the Maratha officers had been killed. The field of Panipat was covered with dead or wounded people. All the remaining Maratha army and men took flight wherever they could. Some common fighters or their leaders as Malhar Holkar, Damaji Gaikwad, Vithal Shivdev escaped at a safe place after the defeat. A large section of the army, their families and camp followers were destroyed by the Afghans.

All the enemy troops rushed towards the fleeing Marathas to get the plunder. They followed them even beyond the city of Panipat and killed pursuing them wherever they

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1. *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.), Vol.3, p. 391; *Marathayancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, No. 406 says that 'Vishwasrao was killed by a bullet. Ibrahim Khan was also killed by a bullet shot. So many important men were killed. Every body went wherever he could go. Malhar Holkar escaped with one or two thousand force.' Vol. 4, No. 517 says that Malhar Holkar and other Sardars came to Gwalior.

went. It was a moonlit night and the Afghan troops pursued the Marathas twenty miles in every side and killed everyone they could overtake. Countless people were killed that day.[1]

Next day Anupgir Gosavi and Kashiraj Pandit inspected the battle field. There were thirty two large heaps of corpses on the battle field, the number of bodies in each ranging from five hundred upwards to one thousand and upto four to fiteen hundred. Thus the total killed reached a number of twenty eight thousand.[2]

Kashiraj has written that "Every troopers carried away ten or even twenty heads of camel laden with money. The captured horses were beyond count, but none of them was of value, they came like droves of Sheep in their thousands. Good elephants were taken, and also slave girls and slaves of the same kind to the number of nearly thirty

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1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, year 1934, p. 265; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 454 says that Malharrao escaped safely due to the kindness of Najib; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 6, No. 409; 'Najib-ud-Daulah, Ruhela Chief', *Islamic Culture*, October 1936, p. 653.

2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, year 1734, pp. 265-266, 270.

or forty thousand were captured alive."[1]

Out of these captured eight thousand men and four hundred officers took shelter in the camp of Shuja-ud-daulah. Shuja-ud-daulah appointed a body of Turkish soldiers to guard these men from starvation and sent them to the Jat country giving them monetary help.[2]

From the people killed in the battle field, the body of Vishwasrao was brought to Shuja-ud-daulah's camp by Barkhurdar Khan. Shuja-ud-daulah kept his body after giving them a reward of two thousand of rupees. Then the corpse of Vishwasrao was brought to Abdali's camp. But finally on the request of Shuja-ud-daulah the corpse was given to the Brahmins for the last rites. The headless body of Bhau was brought out of the large heap of corpses after two days of the battle by a Abdali trooper. It was also cremated. The body of Jaswantrao Pawar and the son of Pilaji and many others were recovered among the heaps of the slain.

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[1] Indian Historical Quaterly, Vol. X, year 1934, p.265; Seir Mutaqherin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol.3, p.391 says that the Abdali plundered the artillery with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants and large number of camels and mules besides the incalculated money and jewellery; Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 6, No. 409 says that about 50,000 Maratha horses were captured by the Gilchais and the villagers; Islamic Culture, Vol.7, 1933, p. 454 says that countless property fell into the hands of the victors.

[2] Islamic Culture, October, 1936, p. 654 says that Rohilla and Durrani troops captured the booty of precious articles and krores of rupees.

Jankoji Sindia was captured wounded and was concealed in Barkhurdar's camp. He was ready to release him for seven lakhs. Najib told this to Abdali. Barkhurdar slew Jankoji and buried him. Ibrahim Khan Gardi was also killed. Shamsher Bahadur saved himself taking flight towards Kumbher. He was severely wounded and lost his life though Surajmal tried his best to cure him. The Zamindars of Farrukhanagar killed Antaji when he was returning towards his home. Baji Hari was also killed.[1] Mahadji Sindia was also wounded by the Abdali followers when he was fleeing and was rendered lame for life.[2]

Finally the fugitives took refuge in the territory of Surajmal Jat, some in Delhi and Rajputana. Surajmal treated them politely and gave them food, clothes and medical help and conveyance to their city of Gwalior. About fifty thousand Marathas saved their life in this way. No men could return to Deccan safely without the help of Surajmal Jat.[3]

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1. *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol.X, year 1934, pp. 266-270; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, No. 417 - gives a long list of the Sardars killed in the battle; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 1933, p. 454 that Jankoji Sindia escaped from the field but was killed by the villagers of Hardaya district, the villagers of Haryana killed Antaji with their sticks; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 1517 says that a great battle was fought between Abdali and Maratha forces. Vishwasrao was killed in the battle. Malhar Holkar and others Sardars came to Gwalior. Ibrahim Khan was captured by them. Many Sardars and men were killed.

2. *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol.V, Year 1934, p.265.

3. *Panipatcha Rangangram*, pp. 21-25; *Marathyancha*

Death of Balaji Bajirao :

Before the Battle of Panipat smashed the Maratha designs the Peshwa made a plan to move towards northern India with Nizam Ali to drive out Abdali. He marched on the last day of 1760 with Raghunathrao and sent another force commanded by the two Bhonsle brothers and others. On 9th January he despatched Raghunathrao and Sakharam Bapu to bring the Nizam but they failed. The Peshwa continued his march towards north and reached Malwa on 18th January. He Informed Bhau to fight with Abdali until his arrival, so that they could defeat him unitedly. On 24th January at Bhilsa, the Peshwa stopped the messanger of a banker carrying a letter written from Delhi about Panipat disaster. The letter also contained the words - two pearls dissolved, ten or twenty gold mohurs have been lost and of the silver and copper rupees there is no counting. The Peshwa could receive no satisfactory details about the diaster for a long time and remained in great suspence. Only in February he could get the detailed news about the incidents of 14th January from Mana Purandare who returned from Panipat. The Peshwa was very much grieved hearing the news of the death

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Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.4, No. 510; Vol. 6 No. 409; Purnandare Daftar, Vol.I No. 417; Islamic Culture, Vol.7, July 1933 says that the survivors went to the Jat country and were given one seer flour to each.

of his son and loss of a large Maratha army. The Peshwa's health was too much affected by this sad news and he gave up the idea of moving towards Delhi. The Peshwa stayed at Bhilsa upto 7th February and then arrived at Pachhor, 32 miles north of Sironj. The Peshwa thought that the rumour about the escape of Bhau and other chiefs from the field might be true. He met the remaining people from Panipat in his camp and was advised by them to repair back home. The Peshwa halted there for a long time and on 22nd March he returned towards south passing via Indore on 6th April. The Peshwa had lost his weight very much. He reached Poona on 6th June and expired there on 23rd June 1761.[1]

Abdali recognised Ali Gohar as the Mughal Emperor, Vazirship was conferred on Ghazi-ud-din and Najib was made the Mir Bakhshi. Then Abdali returned to his country on March 1761.[2]

The Peshwa had accepted the proposal of Abdali to send Yakub Ali Khan to Poona with Bapu Mahadev to decide the peace terms.[3] Abdali sent his ambassador Yakub Ali Khan

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1. *Panipatcha Rangangram*, pp. 26-27; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, July 2933, p. 456; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 449-450, 457.
2. *Panipatcha Rangangram*, p.85; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, No. 202; *Islamic Culture*, Vol.7, July 1933, p. 456.
3. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 103, Vol. XXI, No. 207.

from Lahore to negotiate peace terms with the Peshwa in April 1761 and Bapuji Mahadev was sent with Yakub Ali Khan to visit the Peshwa.[1] But Surajmal Jat, Imad-ul-Mulk and others wanted to finalize peace talks at Mathura. Yakub Ali Khan protested against it but due to the death of the Peshwa, Yakub Ali Khan was stopped at Mathura and the discussions ended after one month without deciding any thing.[2]

The news of the defeat of the Marathas in the battle of Panipat was big shock to the Peshwa because all the achievements of his whole life were wrecked. The mistake which he committed was that he did not keep the line open for constant communication with Sadashiv Rao Bhau. He did not properly estimate the needs and requirements of his army. He did not watch constantly the position of the forces of Bhau and keep a constant supply of reinforcements and flow of supplies to his forces. He was far away from the field of battle where the fate of the Empire was being decided.

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 103, Vol. XXVII, No. 272 says that Gangadhar Pant went to Mathura to Surajmal Jat. Yakub Ali Khan also came there from Abdali.

2. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 144; Vol. XXVII, No. 272; Hingne Daftar, Vol. I, No.213.

Bhau thought of a India for the Indians.[1] His ideal was that the boundaries of the country up to Attock or the Indus should be under the firm grip of the Indians themselves and not in the hands of a foreign power. He failed in his aim because his Sardars could not understand his strategy and tactics of warfare.

The Peshwa had assumed the responsibilities of defending the Mughal Empire frome external and internal enemies by virtue of the treaty of 1752 and was willing to carry it to a successful conclusion but his position was beset with dangers by adverse circumstances and internal foes as well as by the dearth of resources, financial and military and the deplorable deficiencies in the Maratha administration and military system marred the chances of a spectacular success to the Marathas when confronted with the Abdali.

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CHAPTER - IV

THE MARATHA POLICY TOWARDS BENGAL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

The Maratha policy towards Bengal constitutes a significant landmark in the spectrum of their overall attitude vis-a-vis the states of Northern India. It was not an isolated freak of diplomatic manouvring but a calculated and determined attempt of extending Maratha influence in the Eastern India within the broad framework of Maratha supremacy across the nook and corner of North India. It was the handiwork of the great Bajirao I with a view to utilising the services of capable Maratha leaders in a bid of Maratha expansion in all quarters by apportioning spheres of influence and revenue collection so that the ambitious, unruly, disgruntled and irreconcilable elements of Maratha leadership could be harnessed in a combined effort of national survival, glorification and extension of territory, influence and resources.

This policy was a master-stroke of diplomacy and not a sign of weakness to drive away Maratha leaders towards different direction Sardesai has remarked " The presence of both (Bajirao I and Raghoji Bhosle) at Satara in June 1741 created some sensational developments with which Shahu could not cope and which he with his usual weakness allowed to drift towards serious consequences."[1] But it was not the "usual weakness" of Raja Shahu that motivated him to apportion spheres and territories to various leaders of eminence. In fact it was a sagacious step in a rift direction.

Shahu had issued a Sanad to Raghoji Bhosle in 1738 entrusting to him the eastern field of Bengal as his exclusive sphere for the levy of chauth. But the words of this document are vague and confusing and lacked definite demarcation of a definite boundary or geographical accuracy on the map" and led to conflict between Raghuji and Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. The actual words in the document are, "The subahs of Lucknow, Maksudabad, Bundelkhand, Allahabad, Patna, Decca and Bihar are made over as Raghoji's field of activity."[2] Thus the territories in the spheres of Peshwa and Raghuji overlapped and created confusion and conflict. For instance Bundelkhand had already been conquered by the Peshwa and its occupation of him was taken as encroachment by Raghuji.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 207.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 208.

There was nothing wrong in the arrangements to demarcate areas of influence, operation and military and administrative activities but the demarcation lines ought to be clearly delineated otherwise hostilties were bound to ensue.

Peshwa Balaji was also a party to such demarcations of influence and activity made and formulised by Raja Shahu, Thus the Peshwa was given the provinces of Khandesh, Baglana Malwa and other provinces further north to make collections Baglan and Gujarat were conferred on Senapati; Berar, Gondwana and all the territories to the east were made over to Sena Saheb subah, Gangasathe and Aurangabad were entrusted to Sarlasker, Karnatak was confided to Fateh Singh Bhosle while Haiderabad, Bidar and the districts between Hira and Warna were assigned to Pratinidhi for collection of Maratha demands. The Chhatrapati and Peshwa Balaji found these arrangements as the best practiced solution for directing the Maratha energies to constructive channels of fruition and advancement of Maratha interests and looked upon these as the most convenient arrangement in the prevailing conditions for the rapid expansion of the Maratha power.

The Marathas had cast covetous eyes on Bengal, the richest and the largest province of the Mughal Empire with Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as its constituent units, since 1736 when Bajirao and the Emperor were negotiating for a settlement through the agency of Khan-i Dauran and Jai Singh and the Peshwa's Vakil, Dhondo Mahadev. Peshwa's demands inter alia included the assignment of figty lakhs of rupees from the revenues of Bengal needed by him to pay off his debts.[1]

Then followed Shahu's grant of the right of the collection of chauth in the eastern territory of Bengal in favour of Raghunathrao in terms of the document referred to above. The Peshwa too looked upon the eastern territory as his appenage, particularly the affair of Bundelkhand, coveted by Raghuji and already conquered by Peshwa confused and embittered relations between the two and frittered the Maratha energies for cross-purposes.

On his part Raghuji on his return to Satara in the rainy season of 1741 was determined to counteract Peshwa's moves and exercise a check on him for his alleged interference in the east.[1] The Peshwa claverly explained to the Chhatrapati and stressed the need to establish Maratha control in Malwa and Bundelkhand as well as in the territories lying beyound in the east.[2]

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XV, pp. 95-96; Regarding this demand of the Peshwa it was said that it would be done according to the agreement.

The province of Bengal consisted of three separate units Orissa, Bihar and Bengal. The whole province was under the jurisdiction of the Nawab who resided at Murshidabad. Bengal was the richest of the Mughal provinces. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Murshid Quli Khan became its governor and ruled over it and managed its affairs successfully till his death in 1727. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan. He also performed his duties effeciently and has a peaceful and prosperous reign. Shuja Khan died on 13th March 1739 and his son, Sarfaraz Khan, succeeded him in the Subahdari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. During his reign there was a rapid decline in the administration. Alivardi Khan, the deputy governor of Patna led an expedition into Bengal, defeated and killed Sarfaraz Khan at the battle of Gheria on 10th April 1740 and seized the Nawabi for himself. After giving a bribe to the Emperor,

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 208.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 207-208.

he secured from him a confirmation of his appointment.[1] Rusham Jang, the son-in-law of Nawab Shuja-ud-din Khan and the deputy governor of Orissa prepared for a trial of strength with Alivardi Khan and in December 1740 he marched from Katak (Cuttack) with a large army to Balesar with the aim of conquering Bengal. Ali Vardi Khan also marched from his capital towards Orissa in January 1741. After a brave putting up a tough resistance Rustam Jang left the battle field and retreated to Maulipatam with his son-in-law, Baqar Ali and a few faithful servants. Ali Vardi Khan occupied Katak. He placed his newphew and son-in-law Said Ahmad (Saulat Jang) as the deputy Governor of Orissa.

But Baqar Ali hired Maratha helpers from Karnatak, came to Orissa and captured Kuttack by a sudden attack in August. He kept Said Ahmad and his entire family under confinement and seized the government of that province. Ali Vardi collected a strong force and marched into Orissa again, defeated Baqar Ali on the bank of Mahanadi, rescued his nephew and son-in-law Said Ahmad. Baqar Ali and his

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp.208-209; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 44-45; The History of British India, James Mill, Associated House, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 220-221.

Maratha allies took flight to the Deccan early in December 1741. Ali Vardi stayed in Orissa for a few months and restored order there.[1]

By the end of 1741, Ali Vardi Khan successfully suppressed all his internal enemies and established his authority firmly throughout Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As soon as he recaptured Orissa, he had to face a serious problem posed by the Marathas which kept him preoccupied for the greater part of his reign. These Maratha invasions in Bengal formed a part of their imperialism in Northern India. The Marathas kept up their yearly attacks in the provinces of Orissa and Bengal since 1742 which finally ended with the conclusion of a treaty with Nawab Ali Vardi Khan in 1751.[2]

Raghuji Bhosle, the independent Maratha Chief of Nagpur looked upon the eastern province of Bengal as his special field and had expressed his resentment in 1738 when Peshwa Bajirao entered into negotiations with Nizam-ul-Mulk at Bhopal and made it a point inter alia to demand a share from the revenues of Bengal.[1] Raghuji Bhosle's aim of the establishment of his supremacy at Satara was frustrated because of Superior diplomacy of Bajirao who had great influence over his master Shahu. So Raghuji decided for political expansion in the province of Bengal, the richest portion of the Mughal Empire. The existing political condition of Bengal gave Raghuji an opportunity to satisfy his political ambition. He was also supported in his project by the relatives and friends of the late Nawab Sarfaraz Khan who had been driven into the Deccan. They entreated Raghuji to march on Bengal and punish Ali Vardi Khan. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah too sought to serve his interests and self preservation against the impending Maratha attack by impelling Raghuji to repair to Bengal and collect chauth there.[2]

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[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, pp. 45-46; History of Bengal (Mughal Period) Atul Chandra Ray, Calcutta, 1968, p. 385.

[2] History of Bengal, Mughal period, p. 385.

As soon as Raghunathrao reached Nagpur, he formed plans, in consultation with his general, Bhaskar Ram, for a vigorous expedition to raid Orissa and Bengal.[3] A Maratha army under the command of Bhaskar Ram left Nagpur in

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 210.

[2] History of Bengal, Mughal Period, p.386; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p.210; The History of British India, Vol. II, p. 222; Ali Wardi and his times, Kalikin Kar Datta, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1939, p. 56.

[3] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 210.

November 1741 and marched through Ramgarh plundering on the way the district of Pachet. On his return journey from Katak Ali Vardi Khan learnt at Mubarak Manzil (now called Shahui bandi)in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hughli district that a Maratha force from Nagpur had already passed through Pachet and entered the Bardwan district. Ali Vardi Khan arrived at Bardwan by a forced march on 15th April, 1742.

Early on the following morning he found that Maratha light house had completely encircled him. The position of the Nawab was very critical. He had hardly 3000 to 4000 cavlry and 4000 to 5000 foot-musketeers with him. He was compelled to halt at Bardwan for a week. The Marathas cut-off his grain supply. One party of the Marathas under Bhaskar Pandit continued the investment of the Nawab's camp and the other party plundered and devastated the adjoining districts. At such a critical time, Ali Vardi Khan sent his agents to Bhaskar Ram for peace. Bhaskar Ram demanded ten lakhs of rupees which the Nawab refused to pay. On the advice of his trusted generals, Ali Vardi Khan marched with a picked escort for Kotwa, about 35 miles north-east of Burdwan. But the trick was immediately detected and the Maratha forces pursued Ali Vardi Khan, burnt his baggage and tents and made him absolutely helpless on the way. The Nawab again opened negotiations with Bhaskar Ram to secure his release. The latter demanded one crore as the prince of the Khan's release but the Nawab refused it.[1] After fighting desperate rear-guard actions Ali Vardi Khan reached Katwa on 26th, Mir Habib, a native of Shiraz in Persia who was the deputy of Rustam Jang and the son-in-law of Shujauddin joined the Marathas and guided their plans and operation. With the beginning of the month of May, Bhaskar Ram wanted to retire to Nagpur in order to avoid the rainy season of lower Bengal on finding that the Nawab had safely escaped to Katwa but Mir Habib told him about the prospect of boundless plunder if the Marathas made a sudden dash on Bengal during Nawab's absence. With the advice of Mir Habib, Bhaskar Pandit made a surprise dash on Murshidabad on 6th May 1742. The Marathas plundered the city thoroughly without any opposition and burnt into bazar. They collected three lakhs of rupees from the house of the banker Jagat Seth alone. Before Ali Vardi Khan could reach to save his capital in the morning of 7th May, the Marathas retreated to Katwa after devastating and burning the villages on their

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1. Muzaffar Namah, Eng. Tr. by J.N. Sarkar, p. 28. Ahwal-i Mahabat Jang, (Eng. Tr.) pp. 96-98 "Bhaskar Ram demanded one krore of rupees in cash and all the elephants in Ali Vardi's camp for withdrawing his hands from creating any destruction."

way. From the month of June, the Marathas made Katwa as their head-quarter and Mir Habib became their chief adviser and agent. Through the help of his friends in Hugli, Mir Habib secured that town and port for the Marathas and imprionsed its drunker *faujdar*, Muhammad Raza early in July. Hugli came into Maratha possession and Shesh Rao was installed there as its Governor on behalf of the Marathas . Thus the districts west of the Ganges, passed into the hands of the Marathas. They established outposts in many places and captured the country from Rajmahal to Medinipur and Jalesar with Hugli as their headquarters where they installed Shesh Rao as their Governor.[1] "All rich and respectable people abondoned their homes and migrated to the eastern side of the Ganges in order to save the honour of their women."[2] Mir Habib became the diwan of Bengal on behalf of the Marathas and called the zamindars to arrange for the payment of land revenue.[3]

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1. *History of Bengal*, Mughal Period, pp. 386-87; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 210-212; *History of Bengal*, Muslim period, 1200-1757, Jadunath Sarkar, Acedemica Asiatica India, 1973, pp. 455-456; *Bengal Nawabs*, containting Azad-al-Husaini's Naubahar-i-Murshid Quli Khan, Karam Ali's *Muzaffarnamah* and Yusuf Ali's *Ahwal-i Mahabat Jang*, Calcutta, Asia Society, 1952. *Muzaffar Namah*, (Eng. tr.) pp.28-30; *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang*, (Eng. tr.), pp. 96-101 - The entire *chakla* of Burdwan, Medinipur upto Balesar, the *zila* of Birbhum, the city of Rajmahal fell into the Maratha hands, also pp.103-104; *The History of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 222-23.
2. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.I, p.52; *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang* (Eng. tr.), p. 101.
3. *History of Bengal*, Muslim Period, p. 456.

The rule of Nawab ceased in West Bengal but his authority still persisted east of the Ganges but even the country east of the Ganges did not remain safe from occassional Maratha inroads. All over the country where the rule of Nawab had ceased, the roving Maratha troops pepetrated want on destruction and unspeakable ravage.[1]

Early in March 1743, Raghuji Bhosle, the Raja of Nagpur reached Katwa with Bhaskar Ram. He was determined to collect the chauth of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which the Mughal Emperor had promised to Raja Shahu. Raja Shahu had granted the chauth of these three provinces to Raghuji Bhosle. But at the same time the Emperor appealed to Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, the rival and enemy of Raghuji Bhosle, to march on eastern provinces and expel Raghuji from Bengal by force. The Peshwa agreed in November 1742 to proceed to Bengal with an army to oppose Raghuji.[2]

Early in February 1743, the Peshwa entered Bihar with a strong army. The Peshwa marched from Benares about eight miles beyond Gaya where Raghuji Bhosle paid a visit

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1. History of Bengal, Muslim Period, pp. 456-457.

2. Muzaffar Namah (Eng. tr.), p.32; Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jnag (Eng. tr.), p. 106; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 2, No. 10; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 59.

to him. They stayed together for four days and tried to resolve their differences but nothing could be decided.[1] From Benares the Peshwa marched to Bengal and caused heavy losses and disturbances in the towns on his way. Finally he marched to Murshidabad when the oaths of fidelity and friendship were exchanged between the Peshwa and the Nawab, the latter had a meeting with the Peshwa at the village of Chauria Gachi on 30th March. The Nawab agreed to pay the chauth of Bengal to Raja Shahu besides twenty two lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa for the expenses of his army. The Peshwa assured the Nawab that he will make a final settlement with Raghuji and urge on him not to create trouble in Bengal. The Peshwa received the orders of the Emperor in November and started his work on the one hand to defeat the recalcitrant Raghuji Byosle and on the other side tackle effectively with the northern territory of the Emperor. He tried to make the best out of Bhaskar Ram's trouble. The Peshwa had promised to protect the territory of the Emperor by driving away all the aggressive persons from there.[2]

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[1] Purandare Daftar, Vol. I, No. 152; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 215-216.

[2] Muzaffar Namah (Eng. Tr.), pp. 32-33; Maratha Yancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 217; Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang, (Eng. Tr.), pp. 105-106; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 215-216; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 61-62; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXXXIV, No. 2, p. 79.

Raghuji on 10th April and drove him into the western hills with heavy loss of men and baggage. The Peshwa went back to Poona after driving out Raghuji from the eastern provinces.[1]

Thus we see that while the Peshwa wanted to exercise centrally organised power to alcontrol all the Sardars and execute the policy of the Maratha State in the name of the Chhatrapati, Raghuji's ambition impelled him to carve out an independent sphere of activity and influence for himself without any interfer nce from the Peshwa. This tendency of the Maratha Sardars proved to be their greatest weakness which jeopardised their national interests. Raghuji realized that it would be in his best interest to settle the matters with the Peshwa because he could not hold his own against the Peshwa. Shahu was already alarmed at the growing hostility and conflict between these two leading figures and he sent them urgent summons to come to his presence. The main aim of the Maratha policy was the expansion of Maratha control in all parts of India. The definning and demarcation of fields was not a serious problem. Immediately a compromise was arrived at in the presence of Shahu. It was immediately known that the Peshwa waived his claim on Bengal and did not want to harass Raghuji in his legitimate field.[1] On 31st August 1743 the Peshwa and Raghuji signed an agreement at Satara by which the whole territory from Berar to the east sight up to Cuttack, Bengal and Lucknow, was assigned to Raghuji in which the Peshwa was not to interfere and the territory west of this line including Ajmer, Agra, Prayag and Malwa were to be the exclusive fields of the Peshwa[2]. Another Paper further defines the Peshwa's field."All the territories previously acquired by the Peshwa, Mokasa and jagirs, the government of the Konakn and Malwa, the tributes from Agra, Prayag and Ajmer, three taluks from the Patna district, the Inam villages granted to the Peshwa yielding revenues of the order of 20 thousand, within Raghuji's jurisdiction of the Karnatak, these are to be the exclusive assignment of the Peshwa to which Raghuji or any one else should not object. Lucknow, Bihar, lower Bengal, i.e. all the lands from Berar to Cuttack are assigned to Raghuji from which he should realize his tributes and other claims." Thus the Peshwa

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[1] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp.217-218; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 217; *Muzaffar Namah* (Eng. tr.), pp. 32-33; *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang* (Eng. Tr.), p. 106.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 218-219.

2. Aitihasik Patravyavhar, Nos. 35-39; Chitnis Bakhar, p.79; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vo. 2,pp.98-99; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 219.

and Raghuji bound themselves to respect each other's boundaries and not to interfere in the fields assigned to them.[1]

Raghuji immediately marched from Satara to Nagpur and sent Bhaskar Ram to complete his work in Bengal. In the beginning of March 1744, Bhaskar Ram again invaded Bengal by way of Orissa and Medinipur. The news of a fresh invasion by the Marathas bewildered Nawab Ali Vardi Khan because he was not at all prepared to face such a danger after the agreement with Balaji Bajirao had established peace with him but meanwhile Raja Shahu settled the affairs between Raghuji Bhosle and the Peshwa by granting to Raghuji the chauth of Bengal and Orissa and the chauth of Bihar to the Peshwa and each was forbidden to interfere in the field of activity belonging to the other.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 219-220; Aitihasik Patravyavhar, Nos. 35, 36 say that by this agreement "The four subahs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Tikari and Bhojpur (inclusive of Daudnagar) in subah Bihar, ie. the tract lying west of Patna and east Allahabad and yielding 12 lakhs rupees a year, were assigned to the Peshwa, while Raghuji was to enjoy the two subahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Oudh in their entirety and all Bihar except the mahals yielding 12 lakhs reserved for the Peshwa and each was strictly forbidden to interfere with the other's share"; History of Bengal, Muslim Period, p. 460.

Ali Vardi Khan formented a plan of treachery to overcome Bhaskar Ram on the advice of his Afghan Captain Mustafa Khan. He invited Bhaskar Ram and his captain for an interview with him to make a peaceful agreement on the question of the chauth of Bengal. The meeting was scheduled to come off in a huge tent set up at Mankara between Amaniganj and Katwa on 31st March 1744. On entering the tent Bhaskar Ram and twenty one of his captains were murdered by the assassins. The Maratha troops hurriedly left Bengal and Orissa.[1]

Raghuji Bhosle was not in a position to avenge the murder of his generals immediately and the three eastern provinces enjoyed peace and prosperity for about fifteen months.[2] In the meantime a conflict arose between Ali Vardi Khan and his Afghan general Ghulam Mustafa Khan and the latter asked Raghuji to come quickly and crush the Nawab. Raghuji marched from Nagpur in February 1745 to invade Bengal. He invaded Orissa, captured Katak on 6th May 1745 together with its governor Durlabram, son of the diwan Jankiram. The whole of Orissa upto Medinipur came into the hands of the Marathas. Raghuji demanded from Ali Vardi Khan a fine of three crores of rupees for the murder of his generals. When Raghuji was proceeding against Maksudabad an open clash took place between Mustafa Khan and Ali Vardi Khan in which the former was killed. Raghuji encamped in Birbhum for the rainy season. After the rains a running fight continued between Raghuji and Ali Vardi Khan but on 21st December 1745 Raghuji was defeated near Murshidabad by Ali Vardi Khan in a fierce battle. Raghuji returned to Nagpur leaving his troops for the help of Mir Habib who remained in the camp of Katwa.[1]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 220-221; History of Bengal, Muslim Period, pp. 460-461; History of Bengal, Mughal Period, pp. 387-388; Muzaffar Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp. 30-31 says that Bhaskar Ram went in the tent with 12 captains and Ali Bhai who were killed by the soldiers of Ali Wardi Khan; Ahval-i-Mahabat Jang(Eng. tr.)pp.107-109 says that Bhaskar was killed with his 19 generals.

[2] History of Bengal, Muslim Period, p. 461.

In the beginning of November 1746, Ali Vardi Khan received a letter from the Emperor that he had concluded peace with the Marathas and promised to pay to Raja Shahu twenty lakhs of rupees as the chauth of Bengal and ten lakhs that of Bihar annually. The responsibility of collection by on the Subahdar of Bengal who would send it to Delhi where it would be made over to the agent of Raja Shahu. By the end of November, a Maratha agent at Murshidabad demanded the chauth of Bihar in the name of the Peshwa because the chauth of Bengal had already been promised to Raghuji by Shahu. But the Nawab replied that the chauth for these two places was inseparable and he refused to make any definite promise of payment. He wanted that the chauth for the whole north-east country should be the charge of one and payable to one authority and not two separate amounts to be paid to two mutually hostile and independent chiefs. Ali Vardi Khan preferred to base the defence of his realm on a strong army under his own control instead of depending on a force sent by the Peshwa for help and maintained at his cost at the time of Raghuji's invasion.[1]

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[1] History of Bengal, Muslim Period, pp.461-463; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 222-223; Selections From Peshwa Daftar, XX, No. 26; History of Bengal, Mughal Period, p. 388; Muzaffar Namah (Eng. tr.), p. 33 refers about the peace proposals sent by Raghuji through his envoys but nothing could be finalised, ~~also~~ pp. 41-42; Ahwal-i-Mahabat-Jang. (Eng. tr.), pp. 114-117.

By the end of Year 1746 Raghuji made preparations and sent his son Janoji[2] againstthe Nawab. In January 1747 Janoji reached Katak where Mir Habib joined him. The combined forces defeated the Nawab near Burdwan. But immediately after some time Janoji was defeated in a battle

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1. History of Bengal, Muslim Period, pp. 463-464.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 342 says that Raghuji Bhosle had four sons. Janoji and Sabaji were born of the younger wife and Mudhoji and Bimbaji of the elder one.

by the Nawab in March 1747 and returned to Nagpur. During the year 1747, the territory from Orissa up to Medinipur remained in undisturbed possession of the Marathas.[1]

In the end of February 1750, the Marathas again started their attacks into Bengal. Raghuji sent his third son Sabaji to Bengal. He joined Mir Habib and they reached near Murshidabad and plundered the country around. They tried to harass the Nawab by all possible ways.[2]

Both the sides wanted to make peace. Ali Vardi Khan sent Mir Jafar to meet Mir Habib and Janoji and settle the terms of peace. After negotiations with Maratha agents the terms were finalised. The court of Nagpur finally approved of the draft treaty and in May 1751 a peace was signed on the following terms -

1. Mir Habib would be a servant of Ali Vardi Khan and act as deputy-governor of Orissa on his behalf. He should pay the surplus revenue of the province of Orissa to the army of Raghuji as their pay.

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[1] History of Bengal, Muslim Period, p. 464; Muzaffar Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp. 45-46; Ahwal-i Mahabatjang (Eng. tr.), pp. 119-122, 126-131; History of Bengal Mughal Period, p. 388; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 223.

[2] Ahwal-i Mahabatjang, (Eng. tr.), pp. 135-136, 142-144; History of Bengal, Muslim Period, p. 466.

2. Twelve lakhs of rupees would be paid every year to Raghuji from the Bengal revenue as the *chauth* of that province in Benares on the condition that he would not set foot again in the territory of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan.

3. The frontier of Bengal was defined and the demarcation ran along the line across the river Suvarana rekha near Jalesar and the Marathas were not to cross it again. Thus the district of Medinipur was joined to Bengal.[1]

The Nawab paid 32 lakhs to the Bhosle immediately as tje arrears of *chauth*. After the Treaty was signed and Janoji came back to Nagpur withdrawing his troops. He appointed Shivabhat Sathe as his agent to manage the affairs of Orissa. After one year of the conclusion of the treaty, the Maratha troops of Janoji killed Mir Habib on 24th August 1752.[1] Musalih-ud-din Mohammad Khan, a courtier of Raghuji, was appointed as deputy-governor of Orissa. In all matters he worked as a servant of Maratha Rajah. Thus within a few years Ali Vardi Khan lost his control over Orissa and it became a Maratha province though according to the treaty only its revenue was given to the Marathas without any change in its territorial sovereignty.[2]

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[1] *History of the Bengal*, Muslim Period, pp. 466-467; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 224-225; *History of the Bengal*, Mughal Period, p. [illegible]; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Nos. 1244-1247. Translation of treaty under seal of Ali Vardi, "I swear by the Quran that I have agreed with Chhatrapati Ramraja to the *chauth* for the *subahs* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and enter into a firm alliance with Raghuji. And I agree from the 9th Ziqad in the 4th year of Ahmad Shah (18 Sept. 1751) to pay annually the sum of twelve lakhs of rupees on account of the chauth for the *Subahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to be remitted inttwo *qists* every six months to Benares ..... as he shall ridge proper, on this condition that neither Raghuji, nor his posterity, nor any Marathas shall remain in or enter these *subahs* ...." Treaty under the seal of Raghuji Bhonsle --" On condition of the peace I am to receive 12 lakhs of rupees yearly including everything ..... Neither I, nor any of my posterity, nor another potent sardars in alliance with me, shall remain in these three *Subahs* dependent on the Nawab Ali Wardi Kha, or in any way molest the *Zamindars*. Ram Raja who has settled the *chauth* of the aforementioned Subahs on me, shall not send any other sardars into these quarters."; *Muzaffar Nama*(Eng.tr.) p.48. The Nawab made peace with the Marathas by promising to them 12 lakhs every year and withdrew his hands from the subah of Orissa;; *Ahwal-i-Mahabad-Jang* (Eng. tr.), pp. 149-150.

On completing the conquest of Orissa and reaching a final agreement with Nawab Ali Vardi Khan in 1751, Raghuji lived a peaceful life and did not start any important project and expeditions as the Peshwa carried out in the Karnatak area.[3] Raghuji died on 14th February 1755 and wished that his son Janoji should succeed him as Sena Saheb Subah.[4] But finally in March 1757, a conference was

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No.1244; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 224-225.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No.1244 says that when Sirajuddaulah was made Nawab, Musalih-uddin left Katak and took refuge with Raghuji at Nagpur.

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 342.

4. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 342. Raghuji had four sons, Janoji and Sabaji were born of the younger wife and Mudhoji and Bhimbaji of the elder one.

held on the Godavari. The estate of Raghuji was divided into two parts. Janoji was made Sena Saheb Subah and Mudhoji was given the title of Sena-dhurandhar and was asked to rule at Chanda. The Peshwa satisfied this decision.[1] But the domestic problems of the four brothers never ended with the result that that State of Nagpur soon lost its power and prestige.[2]

Ali Vardi Khan had made an agreement with the Marathas in 1751 to give peace and security to his subjects but their miseries were not ended.[3] There were no large-scale invasions in Bengal and Bihar but the roving Maratha troops continued their raidsin Orissa. The interference of the Peshwa in the Maratha claims on Bengal increased the difficulties of Raghuji Bhonsle towards the end of his life.[4]

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1. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. I, No. 11; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, Nos.188,193,463,468,514, 556-557; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh.* Nos.153-55; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, No. 96; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, XX, No. 75; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II p. 342.
2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 342.
3. *Fall of the Mughal Empire.* Vol. I, p. 106.
4. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XX, No.77- Raghuji writes to Sadashiv Rao Bhao on 21st January 1754 " Raghunathrao has sent his envoy from Hastinapur to Bengal, with a letter from Nawab Ali Vardi Khan, asking him to send the *chauth* of Bengal for three years to him. Hence, he is quarreling in my jurisdiction. You yourself settled the peace regarding Bengal, and yet his vakil has gone and disturbed ~~Benga~~ my administration. Please write to forbid him and also tell Ali Vardi to act in the terms of the treaty signed."

Raghuji Bhomsle diedon 14th February 1755 and was succeeded by his son Janoji.[1]

From 1759 the *chauth* fell into arrears and the Marathas again raided Bardwan and Nadia districts and the English officers and the agents of Bardwan Raja could not collect the revenue.[2]

In December 1760, Sheo Bhat Sathe, the Maratha governor of Orissa burst into Bengal and made a raid towards Mungir passing through Bardwan and Birbhum districts. Mir Jafar was the Nawab of Bengal. He sent Mir Qasim against the Marathas. Mir Qasim went to Burdwan and protected the revenue of Burdwan from being plundered by the Marathas. Mir Qasim could not effectively check the progress of Sheo Bhat who went to Medinipur and made himself the master of that distict. He surrounded Mr. Johnstone, on 22nd January 1761 who was the English collector at Medinipur. The Calcutta Council immediately sent a force for relief under Major Cailland which reached on 7th February. Sheo Bhat retreated from Bengal towards Katak without any engagement.[3]

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 106.
2. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 106; *History of Bengal*, Mughal Period, pp. 389-90.
3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 568, 570,593,699,830,884,900,908,923, Ray, *History of Bengal*, Mughal Period, pp. 389-390; Mir Qasim Nawab of Bengal 1760-1763, Nand Lal Chatterji, Allahabad, 1935,pp.9-10; *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal,1760-1764*, Henry Vansittart, ed. Anil Chandra Banerjee & Bimal Kanti Ghosh, Calcutta, 1976, p. 23.

From Katak Sheo Bhat write a number of letters to Calcutta claiming the *chauth* of Medinipur which he declared as a part of the province of Orissa. He also urged for the withdrawl of British troops from that town.[1] In April and May the governor of Katak threatened a invasion if the chauth of Bengal was not given to him immediately.[2] The Bengal government started negotiations with the court of Nagpur[3] and a Maratha agent, Govind Rao Chitnis reached at Calcutta early in July to settle the question of *chauth*. Janoji was also disturbed because he did not receive the amount of twelve lakhs every year from Bengal and he wrote for immediate payment of that amount.[4]

At this time the conflict between the Company and Nawab Mir Qasim took a serious shape and it ended in a war in June 1763.[5] The British considered it necessary that Janoji should remain neutral by all means. The Calcutta Council wrote to Janoji asking him to consider them as security of the chauth of Bengal and not to assist Mir Qasim

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 1071, 1075, 1082,1085.
2. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 1169, 1445.
3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondense*, Vol. I, Nos. 1109, 1110.
4. *Calendar of Persian Correspondense*, Vol. I, Nos. 1109, 110,1134, 1246,1252,2009, 2012.
5. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 1814,1841,186 8,1913,1920; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 107.

or the distress Mir Jafar. On account of these letters Janoji refused the bills and money sent by Mir Qasim, nor did he grant him an asylum in the subah of Katak, which the ex-Nawab desired.[1] At that time some chauth was given to the Marathas and then it was with-held. In a letter of February 1767 Janoji complained that for the preceding two years no money had been sent to him. Janoji became angry because of the refusal of the English to make a final settlement of the chauth and their trick to continue for eight years their negotiations for a treaty of friendship with him.[2] But his position had become weak due to internal disputes in the Maratha state and he did not want to risk a war with the English army for the assertion of his treaty rights.[3] In March 1768 Ganesh Sambhaji became Subahdar of Orissa. He demanded the chauth from the English as the obligation of treaty but his efforts could not be successful.[4]

During his second governorship, Lord Clive opened negotiations with Janoji to surrender Orissa to the Company on the condition that the Company would pay half the amount

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.II, Nos. 77, 1154; Vol. I, Nos. 2329, 2340, 2425,2763; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos.2463; also Vol. II, No. 541.

3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 108.

4. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, Nos. 892, 923,935, 1032.

of the three years' arrears of chauth down and other half immediately after the Marathas had vacated the province. The English also guaranteed the regular payment of chauth of twelve lakhs from Bengal in future. But Janoji did not accept the offer of Clive and the plan was dropped.[1] The English continued to cultivation their friendship with the house of Nagpur especially under Warren Hastings.

Lord Cornwallis also realized the importance of Orissa to the Company to maintain the complete communication between Bengal and British dominions in Karnatak. He gave the authority to C.W. Malet, the British envoy at the Maratha court, to try to occupy this province in exchange for some other British territory. He was even prepared to give money compensation for the difference in value between the two. He was ready to grant special privilledges or even exemption from all government duties to Marathas going on pilgrimage to Benares, Gaya, Allahabad and to Jagannath, when surrendered to the British. Cornwallis also proposed to Malet to make very liberal presents in money to any of the Maratha ministers who finally assisted him forwarding the completion of this object. But he realized that Katak could not be taken

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, Nos. 381, 712, 807.

from the Bhosle family by any means except by force and his negotiations were also dropped. Finally this force was used by Lord Wellesly.[1]

In his northern expedition of 1757-58 Raghunathrao was asked by the Peshwa to go to the eastern provinces of Kashi, Bengal and Prayag and to collect tribute from there. But due to the rainy season Raghunathrao had to go to Poona earlier and he abondoned the work of going to the east. Shujauddaulah gave him the assurance of giving Kashi and Prayag.[2]

By the year 1758 there were very few Muslims in Kurukshetra, Prayag, Benares and Gaya. The territory yielding two crores, the Subah of Lahore up to Attock, except the eastern provinces had come into Maratha possession. Only Multan and Kabul in the west and Bengal, Ayodhya and prayag in the east had not passed into the Maratha possession

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 109.

2. *Marathyanchi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Introduction, pp. 68, 69; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3,No. 90 Dated 10th October 1757. In this letter the Peshwa wrote to Raghunathrao to destroy the enemy in Kashi and Patna without any delay; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh*, No. 166 dated 24th December 1759.

and that work could be completed within a year.[1]

In March 1759 the Peshwa wrote a letter to Dattaji and Jankoji Sindia that "the Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk's heart is not sincere. Mansur Ali Khan's son will pay 50 lakhs if he is given the Vazirship. If I order you to make this change effect it on your return from Lahore. Formerly when Dada was near Delhi, Mansur Ali Khan's son had voluntarily offered to cede Benares to us. If he is now made Vazir by us, he must cede both Benares and Allahabad and pay 50 lakhs. If he refuses to make the above traditional surrenders and asks for two or three years to complete the payment (of 50 lakhs) don't give him the Vazirship. But give it if he pays 50 lakhs and at least Allahabad.....

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[1] Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI, No. 163 Dated 5th September 1758. Letter written to the Peshwa by Keshavrao, the Peshwa's agent at Delhi. Nos. 165, 219, 143. In the last letter Antaji wrote to Dada Saheb that "The work of Bengal cannot be completed according to the will of the Swami without completing the work of Prayag and Kashi and without the departure of Antaji the Emperor and the Vazir there. If the Sardars will remain in Kashi and Prayag, they should not come for the work and without the Emperor more tribute cannot be collected from Bengal;" Vol. II, No. 84 dated 24th November 1757.

If the son of Mansur Ali Khan does not cede Prayag and takes two or three years for giving money, then according to the promises made by Dada to the Vazir, both of them should be united. If you can go towards Bengal with the Emperor and the Vazir after the rainy season, a great impression would be created, many Rohillah zamindars would join our side from here. Dada will go towards Allahabad via Bundelkhand. You with the Vazir march through Doab and our superior strength will enable you to seize Allahabad by surprise. Thereafter, if Shujauddaulah, on being thus threatened from two sides, cedes Benares and Allahabad and pays a heavy nazar, you then persuade the Emperor and the Vazir to give him the Bakhshiship.

The third course is that if the Vazir refuses to leave Delhi (for Bihar) then you should go and join Shuja-ud-daulah, take from him Benares and Allahabad only but don't demand a money contribution, promise him half of Bengal and Bihar, make him accompany you, wrest Bengal and and exact a large tribute from that province.

Out of these three proposed plans, adopt whichever is found to be the most sound and advisable. Your going to Punjab, where there is heavy work to be done, has thrown this (Bengal) enterprise into delay. Take it in hand after the rain.

After making the arrangement immediately in Lahore, if you will camp near Delhi, there will be delays. You should do that work without any doubt so that you can[1] receive 50 lakhs or 75 lakhs to pay the debts.

In a letter Balaji Bajirao, the Peshwa, wrote a to Ramaji Anant that "Dattaji Sindia has three important works of Lahore, Bengal and Patna. Lead an expedition into Bengal and Bihar; realise vast sums of money there for repaying my debts. Bengal is a province capable of yielding one Krore or a Krore and a half. It ought to be (your master's) determined aim to collect a large sum, clear my debts and sustain my troops occupy Bihar, it is a country fit to be retained. Dattaji himself and Jankoji with a strong force should go there, capture Patna and remain encamped there.

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[1] *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, Nos. 97-102; In letter no. 99 the Peshwa wrote that after making arrangements in Delhi, you finish the work in Kashi Patna and Ayodhya with the help of Shujauddaulah and go to Bengal. There are chances of getting a large amount of tribute there." *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh*, Nos. 165-167, 171. In letter no. 165 the Peshwa wrote to Ramaji Anant that "there is important work in Bengal. Tribute can be collected from there. After making the arrangement of Lahore, you should go with a strong force and with the son of Mansur Ali Khan there and collect the tribute with pressure and evacuate the territory in Patna and Bengal. You should go with the Vazir if it is proper. But it does not seem that his arrival would create disturbances. Dattaji will do according to his will. No body should depend on others.... You should collect the tribute by any plan to reduce the debt of the government."; *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 112, dated 20.7.1759. In this letter the Peshwa wrote to capture Prayag after the rains and then to finish the work of Bengal; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, Nos. 99, 104; Vol. XXVII, No. 239.

From that place make your plans about Bengal. Raghunath Dada will go to Hindustan, when the rainy season is over. Thereafter he will march into Bengal and collect a vast sum. If as in the past, the envoy (of the Bengal ruler) comes to you for making a compromise about the Bengal tribute, do not agree to any settlement. My debts would not be cleared unless a huge amount is exacted from Bengal. It is therefore necessary to march with a vast army and secure a crore or a crore and a half (from that province). If without an expedition, a tribute of 50 or 60 lakhs is promised, then accept it. If not, plan (your campaign) after Dada's arrival. For the present you should go to Bihar and seize Patna.

There are two or three tasks to be surmounted and achieved in connection with Shujauddaulah. Take Benares, Allahabad and Ayodhya from him. He had promised to Dada (in 1757) to cede Benares and Ayoudhya but the case of Allahabad is still under discussion. If a settlement on the last point can be easily reached, make it.

Vithal Shivdev had settled the tribute (of Bihar) at 12 lakhs only because at that time we were not free (to send an expedition there). But now we have a grand opportunity of collecting money. If (the ruler of Bengal and Bihar) agrees to pay down 50 lakhs within one year at Delhi then accept the settlement. He will not pay merely on demand but if the generals mentioned above go in force upto Patna, then he will be softened and pay a large contribution.

I have to pay a debt of one crore of rupees. Half of my troops have been sent to their homes having no employment. I have retained twenty thousand men for necessary services and must pay them. My creditors have received only thirty lakhs. You must extinguish fifty lakhs of my debt. I am relying upon Dattaj's assurance to me on this point at the time of his taking leave or departure."[1]

Dattaji informed the Peshwa that he was ordered to make the arrangement of the Vazir and Najib Khan and to go to the east and Bengal to collect tribute to lessen the debt and to do the work of Bengal with the help of the Vazir. If the Vazir was not ready to go there, Dattaji was ordered to perform the work of the east with the help of Shuja-ud-daulah. Dattaji wrote the Peshwa that if the Vazir would accept his

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1. Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lekh, No. 166 correct date 23.2.1759; Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I , No. 136. This letter refers the plans of Maratha forces under Sindhias that "The work at Delhi has been finished. Now the plan is to go to Doab, finish the work of the Jats, the work of the Rohillahs and Shujaud-daulah's etc. and then to go to Bengal."

demands to give the fort of Prayag, the Sanad of Kashi and the Sarkar of Patna and whatever money would be received from these places, the Vazir should get six anna and Dattaji ten anna and would give Sanad for these, he would go with him, otherwise he would go to the east, perform the Peshwa's work there by putting pressure on Shuja-ud-daulah. He decided to camp in the east and to perform the Bengal work during the rainy season.

Najib Khan's Vakil had made an agreement with Dattaji that he would go to the east with him with his forces. Dattaji wrote to the Peshwa that if he would come with his forces at the time of his crossing the Jamuna according to the agreement, it was good, otherwise Dattaji would go to the east after making Najib's arrangement. It will take some time and some differences will happen in this work. There will be little time to go across the Ganges, therefore Dattaji decided to take Najib with himself. He decided to go to Doab to look after the country there. Then he decided to go to the country of Shuja-ud-daulah making a bridge on the Ganges. After capturing the land and the zamindars there, Dattaji decided to make the arrangements according to the situation. He wrote that he was himself very much worried about the debts. He wrote that all the debt will be paid from the money which would be captured in the east."[1]

The British now came forward to contest with the Marathas the supremacy in India. The temporary decline of the Marathas gave an important opportunity toc the East India Company.[2] The natural result of the Maratha decline was the easy control which the British established in Bengal and Bihar. The three legitimate owners, the Emperor, the Vazir of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal were immediately defeated during three years after the battle of Panipat by the British. Neither the Bhosles of Nagpur not the Peshwa tried to resist the British aggression. As soon as Madhavrao became the Peshwa, after his victory at Rakshabhuvan in August 1763, the most pressing problem before him was the aggression of Haider Ali. So he left the affairs of northern India to Sindia and Holkar. Sindia also could not take any hold step for some years due to the succession dispute.[3]

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. II, No. 104 dated 16.8.1759; No. 111, dated 28.12.1759. In this letter Dattaji informed the Peshwa that he was very much anxious to carry out Peshwa's instructions to march into Bengal with Shuja-ud-daulah and to take the control of the holy places of the Hindus; Vol. XXI, No. 175, dated 15.11.1759. In this letter Trimbakrao informed the Peshwa that it was very easy to capture the country upto Bengal after the arrival of Maratha forces in Bengal.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 490.
3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, pp. 490,502.

The Emperor was living at Allahabad under the hospitality of the Vazir. The British managed the revenues of Bengal and Bihar on behalf of the Nawab of Bengal. The deposed Nawab of Bengal Mir Qasim uselessly attempted to resist British claims but after his fall the whole field was open for British ambition. After their success at Plassey and Buxar, the British reached from one height to another.

Mir Qasim was appointed as Nawab by the British themselves.[1] But when he started asserting his legitimate rights, the British became his open enemy and started a war. They defeated Mir Qasim in two successive clashes at Katwa and Gheria in July 1763.[2] The result was that Mir Jafar was again installed as the Nawab by the British.[3] Mir Qasim got the support of Shuja-ud-daulah and both of them made a effort under the direction of the Emperor to

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. Vol.I, Nos. 981, 1024; *A narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, pp.44-5, 53,61; 543-546 refers the treaty made by the English with Siraj-ud-daulah in 1757, p.18 says that "A treaty was made between Mir Qasim and the English. The English agreed to appoint Mir Qasim to the post of Diwan and the successor of Mir Jafar, Mir Qasim agreed to give to the English the lands, to the yearly amount of about fifty lakhs of rupees, consisting of the Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong provinces." *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 2, p. 502; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*. Vol. VIII, p.339 says that before the battle of Plassey, the British were zamindars of the three villages of Kalikata, Sutanati and Govindpur paying an annual rent of 1200 a year. After Plassey, the Zamindari of twenty four parganas was also given to them, pp.343-344.

2. & 3. on next page....................................

regain the lost provinces of Bihar and Bengal. In this effort they also secured the support of the Marathas and started hostilities against the British.[1] The British forces under Major Carnac marched against the combined forces of the confederates. In a battle which was fought on 3rd May 1764 near Patna the allied forces were defeated. But the battle was not decisive. Both the armies continued their camp in Bihar during the rainy season. After the rains they came for a final battle which was fought at Baxur on 23rd October 1764. Major Hector Munro completely defeated the allied forces and compelled them to retreat to Banaras so that they could never hope to recover their eastern possessions. The Emperor accepted the demands of

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2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 1814, 1868, 1913, 1920; A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal, pp. 456-459, 446-451, 461, 465 - 467, 473-475, 490-491, 494-497.

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, No.1814 · A Narrative Of Transactions in Bengal, pp. 475-476, 495, 509-510, 492, 498-500, 509-514, 516 refer the terms of the treaty between Mir Jafar Ali Khan and the Company.

1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 1948, 1951, 2348; Foreign Miscellaneous, Vol. 7 entitled An abstract of the Political Intercourse between the British Government and the Kingdom of Oude (1764 to 1836) ed. Dalton Captain, p. 3; A History of British India, Vol. 2, p. 349; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.VIII, p. 349; A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal, pp. 526-527.

the British and went over undertheir protection.[1]

The battle of Baxur finally completed the process which was started at Plassey. The Bhosles of Nagpur were demanding the *chauth* of Bengal as overlords from a long time. Mir Qasim also appealed to the Marathas for support but Janoji Bhosle ignored this important work and remained engaged in resisting Nizam Ali who was bent upon destroying the Peshwa's capital at Poona. Consequently the British could easily establish their permanent control on the two rich eastern provinces of India.[2]

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 2481, 2497 the Vazir has been defeated and the Emperor has come over to the English camp; *Foreign Miscellaneous*, Vol. 7, p. 3. The British gave to the Emperor the provinces of Kara and Allahabad and in return the Emperor made them the perpetual sovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; *The History of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 349-354; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, pp. 349-350. When the War started with Mir Qasim, Mir Jafar was again made the Nawab of Bengal Mir Jafar confirmed the grant made by Mir Qasim to the English of the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, exempted the trade of Company's servants from all duties except 2½ percent on salt and agreed to cancel Mir Qasim's ordinance remitting all commercial imports, to pay the Company 30 lakhs of rupees as compensation and 5 lakhs per month towards the expenses of the war, to reimburse individuals for personal losses and to allow no European except the English to erect fortifications in Bengal."

2. *The History of British India*, James Mill, Vol. II, pp. 353-56; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.II,p.491.

After the battle of Baxur the British tried to capture Mir Qasim and give him severe punishment but Shuja-ud-daulah protected Mir Qasim from British aggression. So Major Fletcher moved against Shuja-ud-daula and pursued him up to Allahabad and captured the strategic post of Chunar from Shuja-ud-daulah. The British also declared that they were working on behalf of the Emperor whose territories they wanted to protect against his treacherous servants Shuja-ud-daula and Mir Qasim.

The British captured Allahabad and marched towards Lucknow. Shuja-ud-daula asked for help from Malhar Rao Holkar who was already in the Doab. Holkar agreed for it. Shuja-ud-daulah and Malhar Rao joined their forces. Ghazi-ud-daulah, the ex-Vazir, also joined them. Major Fletcher marched upon them from Allahabad. The two forces came face to face on the plain of Kora, Major Fletcher, after an action on 3rd May,[1] compelled Malhar Holkar to go to Kalpi for his safety. At this time, Clive came to India as the Governor of Bengal with full powers to tackle with the situation. Clive took the interview of various persons separately. He had a meeting with the Emperor and received from him the Diwani of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the East India Company i.e. the exclusive power to collect the revenues and dispose of them without the responsibility for the provincial administration and avoiding total annexation. Clive prepared a document and got it sanctioned by the Emperor.[1] Similarly to entered into separate treaties with Shuja-ud-daulah[2] and the Nawab of Bengal.[1] By these treaties the English achieved the substance of power without getting into the administrative responsibility and management of affairs and reduced these Indian powers from standing independently on their own resources and made them sustain their existence largely on the armed support of the Company.

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[1] *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. tr.) Vol. II, pp. 580-581; *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, No.2688; *Shuja-ud-daulah*, Vol. I, pp. 251-259; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, No. 573, 575.

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[1] *History of Bengal*, Mughal Period, p. 421. In June 1765 Clive presented two petitions to the Mughal Emperor in Allahabad requesting him "the grant of Diwani (the right of collecting the revenues) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company and to confirm Najmuddaulah in the Subahdari of these provinces. In return the Emperor was offered the revenues of the two provinces of Allahabad and Kora (28 lakhs). Further Clive assured the Emperor of 26 lakhs of rupees as an imperial revenue annually from Bengal." The Emperor accepted these proposals on 12th August 1765 in a formal ceremony. The Emperor issued a *firman* granting the Diwani to the Company; *The History of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 401-402; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 352.

[2] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 352 says that Clive gave Oudh to Shuja-ud-daulah. Shujauddaulah promised to pay fifty lakhs to the Company in instalments and entered into a defensive alliance with the English.

On achieving this diplomatic feat, Clive went back to Calcutta in September 1765. A Maratha agent at Allahabad correctly reported, "the whole of Bengal from the sea-coast upto Benares has become English, with no impediment between Those who were hostile have become their creatures." Thus the ambition of Peshwa Balajirao regarding the conquest of Bengal was actually realised by a foreign power.[2]

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1. History of Bengal, Mughal Period, p. 422. On 30th September 1765, the Nawab of Bengal was forced to sign an agreement dictated by the Fort William Government - "The King having been graciously pleased to grant to the Company the Diwani of Bengal Bihar and Orissa, with the revenues thereof, as a free gift for ever on certain conditions, where of one is that there shall be a sufficient allowance out of the said revenues for supporting the expenses of Nizamat, be it known to all whom it may concern that I do not agree to accept of the annual sum of rupees 53,86,131,9 as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamat ..... this agreement, I hope will be inviolably observed as long as the English Company's factory continue in Bengal."

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 507.

CHAPTER - V

THE MARATHA POLICY IN THE NORTH, 1761 - 1772
PESHWA MADHAVRAO I - ECLIPSE AND RESURGENCE

Consequent upon the defeat and carnage at Panipat in 1761 the Maratha nation stood bewildered, bereaved and forlone to add to the people's miseries. The great Peshwa B Balaji Bajirao succumbed to the shock of the disaster and expired on June 23, 1761.[1]

The deceased Peshwa's young son, Madhavrao aged 16, was invested with the robes of Peshwaship by the Chhatrapati on July 20, 1761[2] amidst opposition from his uncle, Raghunathrao who was very ambitious, self-willed, highly conceited and having a record of mismanagement in the North yet he was consistently planning and plotting to attain supreme power and position to the great detriment of his family, his people, homeland and glorious traditions of his father and the grand father. It was he who bore the ignominy of seeking alliance with the enemies of the Marathas with a view to attaining Peshwaship in utter disregard of national interests.[3]

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[1] *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, p. 7; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, No. 147

[2] *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, p. 7; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera*, No. 192

[3] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 555-556

The new Peshwa's position was beset with difficulties and dangers all around. The Maratha ambitious in the North which had been the corner stone of their policies and achievements were utterly shattered. Maratha hold on Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Doab, the Jat Country and Bundelkhand was all cast off.[1] The death of three leading members of the Peshwa's house, Sadashiv Rao Bhau, Vishwas Rao and later on of Nana Saheb made the poeple believe that the Maratha state would soon Collapse. But Madhavrao soon proved his mettle and retrieved the Maratha prestige, revived its glorious traditions of arms and generalship, management and revived the hope that the Maratha ascendancy ~~and~~ in the North is not a shattered dream but a glaring reality which had recovered amazingly in a short period to reach the Zenith of its pelf and power.[2]

After the defeat of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat,[3] there was a revolt against Maratha rule every where in Hindustan, in Gangetic doab, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Malwa and other regions. Every Chief train and Zamindar tried to turn out the Maratha invaders from their country. The Zamindars plundered many parts of Doab. The Bundela Chiefs Hindupati and Khet Singh resisted the Maratha claims to tribute. Other petty zamindars rebelled in Jhansi. All the princes in Rajputana

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos, 5,6,7.10, 12, 14,15,22,24,25,81; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 188.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, PP. 560-562.

3. Panipatcha Ransangram, ed. P.M. Limaye, Sangli, 1965 PP 21-23; Indian Historical Quaterly, Vol. X, June 1934, PP 258-274.

turned hostile to the Marathas.[1] Maratha officers again and again demanded help from the Poona Government.[2] Najib Khan, the arch enemy of the Marathas became Mir Bakhshi and Regent of the Empire and dominated the affairs of Delhi from 1761 to 1770. The mid-Doab country consisting of regions like Mirat, Sikandrabad, Dasna, Baghpat and seven mahals which were earlier, in the possession of the Marathas now passed to Najib's possession.[3]

Shujauddaulah wanted to capture Bundalkhand. The Rohillahs were trying to drive out the Marathas from the Doab.[4] Surajmal was now the most powerful in India with strong force and overflowing treasury.[5] Only Ahmad Shah Abdali wanted to be friendly with the Marathas because his main interest in India was to receive his tribute year after year peacefully but his efforts to establish peace with the Peshwa failed because of the intrigues of Imad-ul-mulk and Gangadhar Tatya.[6]

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 22, 24-25, 31, Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagare, No. 188.
2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No.29; Vol.XXVII, No. 268.
3. Islamic Culture,Vol.7, October 1933, PP. 614-615, Islamic Culture October 1936, P.654.
4. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXIX, Nos. 5,10,18,21,22,24; Vol.11, No. 145 says that 'the territory across the Jamuna in Doab is of the Marathas. Shujauddaulah, Rohillahs and Pathans have established their posts there'.
5. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, entitled 'Revival of Maratha Power' 1761-1772 ed. P.M. Joshi, Governme Central Press, Bombay, 1962.
6. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 11, No. 146.

At home the defeat and consequent heavy death toll of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat shortened the span of Balaji Bajirao's life and he died on 23rd June 1761.[1] In July 1761 Madhavrao became the Peshwa and Raghumathrao his regent.[2]

When Ahmad Shah Abdali had left for his country after expressing a sincere desire to solicit Peshwa's friendship, the territory of Northern India was left completely exposed. But from the very beginning the policy of Raghunathrao was directed against any patriotic move to avenge the disgrace of Panipat. A strong and selfless leadership could not be provided by such a fikble minded egoistic man, who was the gardian of a young prince Madhavrao I. He was very selfish and he directed his efforts to an internecine struggle with his nephew Madhavrao which ultimately proved disastrons to himself and the Maratha State.[3]

In a letter Trimbak Pethe reported to Gopika Bai from his camp at Uruli, Dada Saheb is altogether unfit for the high responsibility of managing the affairs during the Peshwa's ministry. It is well known how he had mishandled the situation in the north and added to the financial burden of the

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1. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.1, p. 7; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 11, No. 147, *Aitihasik Patran Yadi Wagera*, No. 192.

2. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, P. 7, *Aitisahik Patran Yadi Wagera*, No. 192.

3. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, P. 466.

state. I can not repose my trust in his words. Babuji Naik and some others would not like to serve if Sakharam continues in his office. Dada Saheb requires sixty or seventy lakhs a year to meet his personal expenses. Whence can all this money be obtained. During Nana Saheb's regime Dada Saheb always returned from his campaigns with huge debts and the Peshwa quietly put up with the loss. But now who can exercise a statutory check on his actions? Unrestrained he would simply wrack the administration. How the relations between him and Rao Saheb (Madhav rao) are severely strained. Every one in this huge camp has become sullen, broading over the dismal consequences which are sure to follow".[1]

From 1761 to 1763 the Maratha power in the north was severely shaken by the disturbances in the South. After the defeat of Nizam Ali at the battle of Rakshabhuvan on 10th August 1763, the position of the Marathas improved to a certain extent.[2] Madhavrao could not pay his attention towards Northern India due to the problem of Haider Ali and left his work on Mahadji Sindia and Malhar Holkar. But Sindia could not take any effective measures due to the succession

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1. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol.11, P. 469.

2. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 1, ed. V.V. Khare, Nos.65-89; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, Introduction, P. 7; Hingne Daftar, Vol. 2, ed. G.H. Khare, year 1947, No. 52.

dispute so Malhar Holkar took the responsibility of establishing Maratha authority in the north.[1]

In June 1761 Malhar Holkar sent Gangadhar Thakur to Surajmal Jat to effect an agreement about the mahals in Doab and established his amal in the territory across the Jamuna as before but it was very difficult to secure order there without a force. So Malhar Holkar requested to send a force before the onset or rains.[2] Gandadhar Pant also helped Surajmal Jat in his siege of Agra fort with his force.[3]

Shuja-ud-daulah, Najib Khan and Bangash Chief sent their vakils to the Marathas and were ready to return their possessions in Doab if the Marathas sent their Sardars to capture these places. They evacuated the posts of Doab. Bangash was showing friendship to the Marathas but he was equally against them. Balaji Govind and Gandadhar Govind went in Doab. They fought with the Pathans at Mangalpur and Rohillahs evacuated these places after an agreement and gave

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXVII, Nos. 267,268,271, These letters show that the responsibility of the north is on Malhar Holkar and he is in Malwa; Vol.XXIX, Nos. 62,64, 67. These letters tell us that 'when Mahadji Sindia left Poona, for Malwa in 1764, attempts were made to intercept his journey; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No.72; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha,Vol.3, ~~ed.year~~ No.1016, Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, ed.A.B. Phalke, year 1937, No. 415; Hingne Daftar,Vol. 2,No.47 says that 'Qadarji Sindia, Mahadji Sindia, Naro Shankar and Vital Dev have been sent with the force. They will join Malharba and will move forward'.
2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXVII, No. 268
3. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 11, No.144; Vol.XXIX, No. 5.

to the Marathas.[1] Malhar Holkar ordered Gopal Ganesh to take possession of the places. Shujauddaulah ordered Beni Bahadur to evacuate these places. By the end of April 1762, the Marathas took the possession of the whole district but the fort of Ghazipur remained in Roopsingh's hands.[2] In June 1761, Malhar Holkar informed the Peshwa that he was ordered to take the sanad of Kashi and Prayag from Ghaziuddin Khan. Shujauddaulah would give these places through his pressure.[3]

After the rainy season of 1761 Shujauddaulah and the Emperor marched from Jajmau with the idea to establish their control on Bundelkhand and then to go the Delhi. They reached Kalpi and called Balaji Govind and Ganesh Shambhaji for a meeting who were the Maratha officers in Jhansi and Kalpi respectively. Ganesh Shambhaji had already created mischievous activities in Jhansi, Bundelkhand and other Maratha possessions. He accepted the service of Shuja-ud-daulah. Balaji Govind did not go to meet Shuja-ud-daulah. In January 1762, Shuja-ud-daulah crossed the Jamuna at Kalpi. He captured

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 5,6,10,22; Vol.XXVII, No. 27, says that 'the Vakils of Najib Khan, Shujauddaulah and Rohillah Bangash came there. They evacuated the posts of Doab. Balaji govind established his posts there, No. 263; *Shindeshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 236.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, No. 263, *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 84; *Shujauddaulah* 1754-1765, Vol.1, Asturbadi Lal Srivastava, Agra 1961, p.120.

3. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXVII, No. 269.

the places of Kalpi, Mot and Jhansi within a month.[1] When the Maratha officers could not check this invasion in Bundelkhand, they asked Malhar Rao for help who was busy in Jaipur that time. Malhar rao marched towards Jhansi leaving Jaipur. During his march he came to know that Jhansi had already surrendered so he returned to Ujjain,[2] and the Marathas were left defenceless in the north.

In 1765 Shujauddaulah asked for the help of Malhar Holkar. Malhar Holkar met Shujauddaulah at Anupshahr. Malhar Holkar agreed to help him. He joined the force of Shujaddaulah. Ghaziuddin also joined their corces. On 3rd May 1765 in a battle near Kora,Malhar Holkar was defeated by Robert Fletcher and was compelled to go for refuge in Kalpi.[3]

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXIX, Nos. 13,22,23,24, 27, 32-34,35,37, The last letter says that 'Shujauddaulah left the Prince in Kalpi and himself went to Jhansi and was fighting the fort. The besieged did not get any support. Ganesh Shambjaji joined the service of Shujauddaulah, No.45; Hingue Daftar, Vol. 11, No. 46, Dated 13 Dec. 1762 says that 'Ali Gohar and Shaujaudaulah are in the fielf of Jhansi.They are fighting for Jhansi fort. Shujauddaulah has captured the fort of Moth; Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 6, No. 465; Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 11, No. 149; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 196; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 11, pp. 388-389.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 11, No. 7; Vol. XXIX, Nos. 33, 34, 37, 27, 23.

3. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 3, No. 545, 573, No. 575. In the last letter Holkar writes on 30th March 1765 that "I have arrived at Anupshahr where Shujauddaulah came and met me. I have agreed to give him my armed aid and with this purpose I am now proceeding towards the Ganges"; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 90, 98; Selections from Peshwa Daftar,New Series, Vol. 3, No. 100 says that 'the Rohillah and Pathan forces did not collect according to the agreement; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1911, No. 2348 says that Shujauddaulah was expecting

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In December 1765 Malhar Holkar captured Jhansi.[1] At the time of Holkar's defeat Mahadji Sindia was near Kota in Rajputana. He immediately rushed to help Holkar. But because the battle had already ended, he could not do any thing to retrieve the position. Sindia wrote to the Peshwa on 10th August 1766 that "Holkar is at Datia, where I am going to meet him and with his

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to be joined by the Afghan and Maratha forces; Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh, Shiv Prasad, Pers. Text, p. 118 says that Malhar was defeated by the English and took refuge in Kalpi; Seir-Mutacherin, Vol. IV, PP. 572-574 says that Shujauddaulah took the help of Afghan forces and Malhar Holkar. Malhar Holkar joined Shujauddaulah with his troops; P. 580 says that the Afghans did not march even one step. Only Imad-uk-mulk joined him. In a battle near Kara, Malhar was defeated and took flight to Gwalior; Purandare Daftar, Vol. 3, K.V. Purandare, 1934, No. 12 says that After making arrangement with the Jats, Malhar Holkar will go for Shujauddaulah's help with Najib Khan Shujauddaulah gave Malharta 60 lakhs to get Maratha ahelp against the English; No. 13 ~~will meet Malhar Holkar and~~ No. 127, Dated 5th July 1765 says that 'Malhar Holkar plundered and destroyed Kora-Jahanabad. He plundered the territory upto Kalpi and destroyed it. The English came upto Kalpi so Malhar went to Jhansi with his force and plundered Phaphund etc. A Rohilla force of 60-70 thousand horse under Hafiz Rahmat reached there. So Malhar went from there. The Rohillahs captured Umargarah and destroyed the peace. The sons of Govind Pant went to Ranipur across the Ganges; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, PP. 520-21.

1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 103; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 89, Dated April 1766 says that Malhar Holkar captured Jhansi and went to Datia and Vodsa. He will go to Gwalior from there and make the arrangement. Purandare Daftar, Vol. 3, No. 127; Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 196.

cooperation I am anxious to undertake some grand projects".[1]

In December 1765 the Emperor sent Saifuddin Mohammad Khan to enter into a treaty with Malhar Holkar to escort him to Delhi. Malhar Holkar demanded Kora and Allahabad from the emperor. The Emperor agreed to this proposal.[2]

The English made a plan to make an alliance of Shujauddaulah, the Rohillah chiefs and the Jats against the Marathas and the Emperor as they could create the disturbances in the country of Shujauddaulah and the company.[3]

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1. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, p. 505.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 1, Nos. 2730, 2753, 2754, 2768; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 80 says that the King sent Saifuddin Mohammad Khan to negotiate peace with Malhar Holkar; Press List of Records belonging to the Foreign Department Government of India, Series I, Select Committee, pp. 67-69.

3. Press List of Records velonging to the Foreign Department Government of India, Series I, Select Commkttee, PP. 73-74.

When Peshwa Madhavrao came to know about these incidents in the north, he sent Raghunathrao to the north in February 1766 to recover the lost post-prestige of the Marathas.[1]

"Madhavrao was the first bold builder of a new era of honest dealings in politics, discarding the traditional intrigue and dissembling in dealing with friends and foes alike. Many instances of this fresh departure of open and frank diplomacy are available in the short career of this independent Peshwa. In all his transactions one notices a pleasant ring and a refreshing change to a courageous innovation".[2]

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIV, No. 97; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 439.

2. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, P. 492.

MARATHAS AND THE JATS

After the defeat of the Marathas in the battle of Panipat, Surajmal was one of the most powerful chiefs in India with strong forces and enormous treasury.[1] On 25th December 1763 Surajmal was killed in a battle against Najib.[2] Surajmal had five sons, Nahar Singh, Ratan Singh, Jawahir Singh, Nawal Singh and Ranjit Singh. Jawahir Singh succeeded his father in 1764.[3] At this time also the Jat state was the richest in north.[4]

The first and foremost objective of Jawahir Singh was to attack Najibuddaulah who had killed killed his father. He sent his envoy Roopram Kothari to Malhar Holkar to secure his help on the promise of a large sum. By order of the Peshwa, Holkar agreed to help Jawahir Singh with twenty thousand horse for twenty two lakhs of rupees. In this war the main interest to Malhar Holkar was to make money at the expense of the rich Jat ruler and he did not want to seriously weaken his 'foster Son' Najib.

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, Introduction, P. 7.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol.3, No.75, *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera*, No. 223, *Seir-Mutakherni*(Eng.Tr.) Vol.IV, P. 32, *Islamic Culture*, Vol.7, Oct.1933, P. 623 *Imad-us-Sadat*, Ghulam Ali Naqvi (Pers. Text) P.56, *Najibbuddaulah*, *Ruhela Chief*, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1936, p. 655, *Aitihasik Charitren*, Part 11, P. 3 has given the date 31st December 1763 for the death of Surajmal.

3. *Imad-us-Sadat*, (Pers. Text.), P. 56, *Seir Mutakherin* (Eng.Tr.) Vol. IV, P. 33.

4. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXIX, No. 117.

Jawahir mal also took the Sikhs into his service. Jawahir Singh started his comoaign against Najib in November 1764 with a large force which included twenty thousand Marathas and fifteen thousand Sikhs. The fighting continued till the end of January 1765. No side got the victory. Jawahirmal was greatly distressed and said, "The Maratha has taken a large sum from me, but did not put his heart into the fight".[1] Malhar Holkar also secretly did not want to do any harm to his adopted son, Najin. Both Malhar Holkar and Imadul mulk were secretly corresponding with Najib. Due to the double dealing of Malhar Holkar,[2] Jawahir Mal was compelld to accept Najib's offer of peace in February 1765. Malharrao, more over,

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1. Islamic Culture, Vol. 7, October 1933, pp. 625-634, P. 627 says that Malhar wrote to Najib, "I hold to the faith I have pledged to you. But at this time my troops are starving and you know that in all Hindustan there is at time time no man possessed or riches like the Jat (Rajah). So permit me to please him for some time and thereby secure money. I shall throw this business into delay". Islamic Culture, October 1936, P. 655 says that Malharrao turned from Jaipur towards Delhi. So long as he was at a distance, he wrote friendly letters to Najib. He further says that finding that Malhar has allied himself with Jawahirmal, Najib thought that he would be defeated so he sent proposals of friendship through mediators but Malhar preferred money. The Writer has written Rs. 30 lakhs as subsidy agreed between Malharrao and Jawahirmal which is wrong; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX Nos. 56, 68, 72, 73, 85. These letters tell that Najib and Jawahirmal, Both are preparing for a severe struggle. Holkar has been advised by the Peshwa to give assistance to the Jats; Seir-Mutakherin, Vol. IV, P. 33, Tahmasp Nama, (Eng.Tr.) p. 114; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 1, No. 2457 says that Malharrao with 30,000 horse joined Jawahirmal, Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. 1, ed. D.V. Apte, Poona, Shaka 1842, No. 156.
2. Calender of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 1, No. 2348, 2524 A says that Malhar again received a considerable sum from Najib, also No. 2533A says that Najib is desirious to go to his country through the help of the Marathas.

was upset by the news of Abdali's rapid march on Northern India. On 9th February Najib Khan visited Malhar Holkar and Jawahir Singh to show the Customary courtesies.[1] Malhar Holkar was highly honoured and Khilats were given to his 120 officers.[2]

After the peace was made, Malhar Holkar asked from Zabita Khan, the son of Najib for the amount which he had secretly promised to Malhar Holkar without telling Najib Khan. Since Najib Khan had already informed Abdali about all these incidents so the reports reached that Abdali had arrived at this side of Lahore after crossing Attock. The Maratha soldiers went from there without picking up any dispute about the money promised to them because of the fear of Durrani's army. Hearing the news of the Abdali's arrival nearer, Malharrao and Imad-ul-Mulk were affaid and immediately sent their families to middle doab and themselves marched towards Bangash country by way of Anupshahr.[3] Jawahirmal had already given to Malhar ten lakhs of rupees but now he refused to pay the balance of twelve lakhs of rupees.[1]

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[1] *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, October 1933, PP. 625, 629, *Najibuddaulah, Ruhela Chief* Islamic Culture, Oct. 1936, P. 659, says that 'when Jawahir could not get the victory by any means, the two sides made peace through Malhar Rao', *Seir-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. IV, P. 33, *Tahimasp Nama* (Eng.Tr.) P. 114; *Holhar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, Nos. 216,217 say that Najib with his son went to Malharrao's camp and met him. Then Najib and Malhar went to Jat Camp riding on one elephant and met him. *Purandare Daftar*, Vol.3, No. 12.

[2] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 11, P. 334.

[3] *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 7, Oct. 1933, PP. 638-39, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1936, P. 657, *Holharshahicha Itiasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, No. 226.

In a letter dated March 1765 Gangadhar Chandra Chud that "reconciliation was made between Najib Khan and Jawahir Singh and Malhar would go for the arrangement of Sakurabad, Phaphund, Itawa, Kora and Kara. The Rohillahs and Pathans usurped the territory of the Marathas. Their arrangement and the matter to give help to Shujauddaulah are the matters engaging the attention of Malharrao and his councillors".[2]

Malhar Holkar was an ally of Shujauddaulah in his battle against the English at Kora on May 3, 1765. But the allied forces were defeated by Sir Robert Fletcher. Malhar Holkar

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 11, P. 335, *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. 3, No. 12, 'Najib met Malhar near Delhiand made peace with the Jats. The Jat gave to Malhar Holkar Rs. 40 lakhs, No. 13.

2. *Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, No. 225 Dated 25.2.1765, No. 223 dated 2.3.1765. In this letter the writer Gangadhar Chandra Chud writes that "we are marching towards Sakurabad from Diab. After deciding the matters between the Emperor and the Vazir, we are going to establish amal in Doab. There are few chances of securing money from Najib. The tribute from the P ar Rohilas can be collected only by force. After making the arrangement of the country we will go for the help of Shujauddaulah and would not allow the English to Capture Prayag. Then we will decide the matter of Par Rohilas, Nos. 219, 222.

took the flight towards Kalpi[1] and in December 1765 he recaptured Jhansi and gave the arrangement of the fort and the territory into the hands of Vishvasrao Laxman.[2] Mahadji Sindia who was near Kota in Rajputana that time rushed for Holker's help but as the battle had already finished, he could do nothing to improve the situations.[3]

Nahar Singh, the youngest son of Surajmal made preparations for a struggle to win the gaddi of Bharatpur.[4] At this

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1. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, ed. V.V. Khare Nos. 573, 575; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 1, No. 2666 Dated 26 June 1764 says that Malhar Holkar joined Shujauddaulah with a large force and laid his camp in Farrukhabad district, also No. 2688 says that Malhar Holkar was defeated by the English and was making war preparations in Bundelkhand. He has called the forces from Deccan; *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, No. 96 dated 16 June 1765, says that after making an agreement with Najib Gangoba came to Anupshahr to establish arrangement in Doab. Nawab Shujauddaulah met him there. He made an agreement to get help. Malhar Holkar came to Etawa. After finishing work there he will go to Mehdighat on the bank of the ganges; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 98. The writer in this letter says that 'Nawab Shuja came to Anupshahr and made an agreement with the Marathas for the arrangement of the English. Shujauddaulah agreed to help the Marathas in the administration of the Empire. So I left the work of Etawa and went for the work of Shujauddaulah, also Nos. 86, 90, *Shuja-ud-daulah*, Vol. 1, PP. 251-252 also P. 254. The writer says that for the Maratha help, Shujauddaulah promised to give to Holkar the parganas which Safdarjang had given to him in 1752 but had been recaptured by the Vazir after the defeat of the Marathas at Panipat with a cash payment of Rs. 15 lakhs after getting the victory over the enemy and for the day today expenses of the Maratha army, he would pay at the rate of Rs. 30,000 per day. He also promised to give the Marathas the administration of the Empire and to manage its affairs with their consultation.
2. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXIX, Nos. 99,107,108,102; *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, No.101.
3. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, P. 505.
4. *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 11, No. 55; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera*, No. 223.

time in January 1766 Malhar Hollar was busy in struggling with the Rana of Gohad, a Jat prince independent of Bharatpur, on the other side of the Chambal.[1] When Nahar Singh asked Malhar Holkar for help against Jawahir mal, Holkar became ready because there was no other place like Bharatpur from the point of view of wealth.[2]

So Malhar Holkar sent a force of fifteen thousand horse under Sultanji Lambhate, Makaji Lambhate and Santaji Wable on the other side of Chambal. They plundered to Jat territory from Dholpur to Dig and Agra. Jawahirmal with the help of the Sikhs attempted to divert the attention of the Marathas by ravaging the country of their Vassal Madho Singh of Jaipur. But his troops were compelled to return from there when Sindia's forces also moved aginst them.[3] A Marathi letter says that

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[1] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXIX, No. 197; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 82; *History of the Jats*, K.R. Qanungo, Calcutta, 1925, P. 185; *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, No. 101.

[2] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 102, 105, 117; *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, No. 164; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 223. The writer says in this letter that we will get 80 lakhs by helping the Jats. *History of the Jats*, PP. 185-186.

[3] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 102, 126, 105, 121, 197; Letter No. 121 says that the Rajputs (Madho Singh) have called Sindia and Holkar for help; *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 223.

'Madhadji Sindia and Gangadhar Jatya with their forces have gone to face the Jats. They have encamped at Kumari river. Some forces are at Dholpur.[1]

Jawahir Singh with the help of Sikh troops attached Maratha forces on 13-14 March near Dholpur, defeated them and easily captured Dholpur. They also captured about five hundred horses and three or four elephants, and imprisoned Sultanji Lambhate and some other Maraths generals.[2] Gangadhar Pant and Naji Nar Singh from the side of Mahadji Sindia with fifteen thousand troops went to relieve the position. Holkar

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 128; Life of Najibuddaulah, Jadunath Sarkar, *Islamic Culture* Vol. 8, April 1934, P. 246 says that Jawahir Singh was fighting at Dholpur with Holkar and had called the sikhs for help.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 102, 105, 122, 124, 126, 128, 204; L.No. 102 says that "A great battle was fought between them. Many people were killed on both sides; No. 204 says that 'Jawahir has captured Dholpur. He captured four or five hundred horse and three or four elephants. He also captured Sultanji Lambhate'. No. 127 says that 'The Maratha forces came hear Dholpur. Sultanji Lambhate was wounde the force came safely to this die. Some went towards the Chambal by mistake. They were plundered by the Zamindars. Two or four hundred horse were captured by them. Two or four hundred people were killed or wounded. Hearing this news, Subedar marched from the place Gohad'. *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 11, No. 58; *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, No. 102, says, that 'it was a second panipat to Wable, Bule, Raj wala and Lambhate; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 85 says that 'Jawahirmal has seigned Dholpur and Gohad Raja has threatened to make common cause with Jawahirmal; *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 8, April 1934, P. 246; *Holkar Shahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.* 1, No. 257.

himself went at about five Kos distance from Gohad.[1]

Nahar Singh who now lost his dependency and was left by the Marathas, committed suicide.[2] The Gohad Jat joined Jawahir mal. Jawahirmal decided to assist his friend Rana Chhatrasal Jat of Gohad in the campaigns against the Marathas and tried to put an end to the Marathas activities beyond the Chambal.[3]

When Peshwa Madhavarao came to know of these incidents in the north, he sent Raghunath rao to the north in February 1766 to recover the lost posts and retrieve the prestige of the Marathas.[4]

Raghunathrao marched towards Malwa and Holkar and Sindia joined him in April 1766 at Bhander.[5] Raghunathrao went to Khechiwada and suppressed the disturbers and went to Bundelkhand.

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 124, 122, 108, 126, 127, 105. The last letter says that 'Malhar and Mahadji with their forces are at 15 to 20 Nos. from Gwalior. They have captured four or five fortresses of Gwalior. Their forces are plundering and destroying the territory upto Agra.'

2. *Imad-us-Sadat* (Persian Text) P. 56 says that Nahar Singh died of self administered poison; Imperial Record Department, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, 1967-1969, Calcutta, 1914.

3. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 204, *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, Nos. 85, 86, *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 11, No. 58.

4. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 97, *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 439.

5. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 131, 136, 137, 139-140, *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, P. 1016.

Raghunathrao had to perform two tasks in north. The first was to make agreements with the Emperor, Shujauddaulah and the Rohillahs and to make the arrangement of the Emperor. Secondly, the Bharatpur Jat and other Jats and Rajput Rajas had become against the Marathas. They had stopped the payment of tribute and were fighting to capture Maratha territory so Raghunathrao had to subdul them. The problem was as to how one should start at first. In the mean-time Malhar Holkar died in May 1766. So Raghunathrao had to leave all the plans and he encamped in Kalpi during the rains.[1] Malhar Rao died on 20th May 1766.[2]

The Emperor wanted to march from Allahabad to this side on the arrival of Raghunathrao in the north. The Emperor asked Raghunathrao to make the arrangement of Badshahi.[3] The sent shuffah, Khilat and jwels to Raghunathrao.[4] The latter

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1. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, P. 1016, Nos. 531, 589, 592; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 108. The letter says that 'Jawahirmal Jat caused great harm to Malhar Holkar. His arrangement was necessary Mahadji Sindia and Malhar Holkar have been sent to face the Jats with forces. So Raghunathrao was asked to reach immediately; *Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, No. 245 Raghunathrao wrote that the Delhi Emperor wanted his help to make the arrangement of Badshahi.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, No, 96 *Chandra Chud Daftar*, Vol. 1, Nos. 104-106, *Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, Nos. 253-254, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 1007.

3. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, entitled *Delhi Affairs* 1761-1738 (Eng. Tr.) Jadunath Sarkar, Government of Bombay, 1953, p.9, *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 1, No. 245.

4. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 107A

was not ready to do this work and satisfied himself by sending his diplomatic missions under Nilu Dhar Pandit to the Emperor with some proposals and to the other Indian powers and to the English at Calcutta to negotiate a common agreement.[1] Raghunathrao tried to finish the contest begun by him against Gohad.[2] Due to the misunderstanding between Raghunathrao and Mahadji Sindia about succession problem to Sindia state, they could not work unitedly.[3] Jawahirmal gave help to the Rana of Gohad in his struggle against Raghunathrao. Raghunathrao tried to capture Gohad by assault but failed inspite of repeated attempts. Jawahirmal was ready on the otherside of Chambal whith large force to attack him but because his Gosain generals joined the Marathas, he did not attack the Marathas. The siege continued for five months. Mahadji Sindia saved the situation by arranging an accomoda-tion with Rana who agreed to pay fifteen lakhs of rupees. The siege was raised in December 1766.[1]

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.11, No. 107B, dated 27 February 1767. The list of proposals made by Raghunathrao to the Emperor are: (i) Raghuhathrao is always ready to engage in war or conclude peace for the interest of His Majesty's throne, so he should have the right to appoint and dismiss all the officers; (ii) The grant of certain lands to meet the expenses of his troops. Raghunathrao should be given the right to use its production for the expenses of his troops, (iii) The lands and dependencies which were earlier in Maratha possession but were now captured by the others should be granted to Raghunathroa immediately after their evacuation, (iv) The permission to take British help with their forces and also the Maratha help to the British, (v) Shujauddaulah should be allow to join Raghunathrao in every undertaking, Raghunathrao will never take any hostile measures against Shujauddaulah. (vi) If any addition is made in the territory of His Majesty, one half should be the Emperior's property and the other half of Raghunath to meet the expenses of his troops, one half of the revenues should also be given to Raghunathrao, (vii) The several grants and immunities concerning Hindu religion, which they are enjoying from some time, should be formally granted; Nos. 78, 145 and 207.

[2] *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 11, Nos. 66-67, 69-70, *Persian Records of Maratha History*, *Delhi Affairs*, Vol. 1, P.4, *Chandrachud Daftar* Vol. 1, No. 157, says that Shivaji Gopal and Raghunathrao had besieged the fortress in Gwalior. It was expected to be evacuated within one or two days. After it they had to make the arrangement of the Gohad Raja and to go to the Jat country; Nos. 105, 106, *Aitihasik Lekh Sangeraha*, Vol. 3, P. 1242.

[3] *Peshwa Madhav Rao I*, Anil Chandra Banerjee, Calcutta, 1943 P. 113, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.11, p. 508.

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[1] *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 11, Nos. 62,63,66,67. No. 67 says that "Raghunathrao tried to capture the fort by assault but he failed Gohad Raja turned them out after a battle .... Now the matter of Gohad Raja has been finished. Only two or four lakhs are to be given." No. 66 says that 'The matter of Gohad has been solved in the presence of Haro Shankar. Twelve lakhs has been agreed. Out of this 3 lakhs in cash, one lakh in goods and Jawahir, one in cash as indeminity and one after evacuating the fort and the rest nine lakh in goods and Jawahir, one in to be paid in instalments .... An alliance is going be made through the madiation of Sindia. The writer says that the matter of Gohad has been settled through Haro Shankar but it is not permanent, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, Nos. 12 F, 11B, 12B, 12F. These letters give detailed information about the clashes between Gohad Raja and Raghunathroa, No. 12B says that Raghunathrao received Rs. 12 lakhs from Gohad Raja, No. 12 C tells about the meeting of Jawahir Singh with Raghunathrao, *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, Introduction P. 9, says that 'Rana agreed to pay a fine of Rs. 15 lakhs through the mediation of Sindia and the siege was raised; *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Np. 160, 164; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, *Delhi Affairs*, Vol. 1, P. 3, 8, 10, P. 8 says that Dada agreed to make peace for a contribution of eleven lakhs of rupees. About two lakhs in cash and kind was to be paid and the rest in instalments fixed in writing. *Islamic Culture*, April 1934 says that Raghunathrao failed in his expedition due to domestic funds. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, No. 635 says that 'Mahadji Sindia told Dada Saheb not to besiege Gohad but Dada did it. Then Sindia told him not to attack. This letter tells us about the differences of openion of Dada and Mahadji regarding their policy to be adopted for Gohad Raja also. P. 1241 says that Dada was not on good terms with Dada saheb. Nos. 634-635, 638 says that during the siege Raghunathrao faced many problems. He had no

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Gangadhar Yashwant had already sent his son Anyaba with a force to encounter the activities of the Jats, who came upon Dholpur in December 1766. A turbulent gosain force was also suppressed.[1]

Raghunathrao marched towards Dholpur to suppress Jawahir Singh who, however, asked for a meeting through Ram Krishna Mahant and Umraogir Gosain. Just then the news came that Abdali had marched into Punjab so both the parties became auxious to avoid further hostilities. The disucssions for terms started between Jawahirmals vakil and Naro Shankar. No tribute was paid but the Maratha generals who were captured in March 1766, were set free in December 1766. Because Jawahirmal was suspicious of the fidelity of his gosain generals so no personal meeting could be possible between Jawahirmal and Raghunathrao. An agreement was made. Jawahirmal agreed to pay the balance of Rs. 15 lakhs to Holker and Raghunathrao

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money to pay his force His supplies were locted and no loan was possible; P. 1241 says that the Marathas suffered heavy loss during the siege of Gohad. But Lada felt it bad that the Peshwa did not send money or force during this time also. Chandurachud Daftar, Vol. 1, Nos. 119, 120, says, that 'Gohad was besieged. After taking Rs. 10 lakhs as tribute Raghunathrao will come towards Kalpi and then will go to Doab.'

[1] Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vo. 3, No. 96.

agreed to cede Jawahirmal a small part of Rajput territory contiguous to Jawahir's territory.[1]

Raghunathrao now retraced his steps and marched towards Karoli.[2] On getting the news of the arrival of Abdali, Raghunathrao marched from the Jat country towards Sironj for self defence and no alliance could be made of English, Shujauddaulah and the Marathas.[3]

On raching Punjab Ahmad Shah Abdali has written to Raghunathrao in a proud and haughty manner threatening him with war and rapine.[4] Raghunathrao left Bahiro Anant and

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1. Selection from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 158-159, 164-165, 155, 117, Letter No 155 says that 'Ram Krishan Mahant and Umraogir Gosami came for an alliance and met him. There will be no gain. Only a nazar will be given of elephants, horses and Jawahir and money costing about a lakh or fifty thousand rupees; Letter No. 164 says that 'it was decided to have a meeting of Raghunathrao and Jawahir Singh in the presence of Umraogir and Naroshankar. But the Jat was suspicious that Gosains have met with Raghunathrao and deceived. So one day in the night the Jat attached on Gosavi troops, defeated them and plundered... Umraogir, Anupgir and Mir Jagir with 300 sawars, fled away and came in the camp of Raghunathrao crossing the chambal river.. The next day the Jat went to Bharatpur and Raghunathrao to Karoli; Hingne Daftar, Vol. 11, Nos. 69, 67, Letter No.67 says that 'Ram Krishan, Mahant and Umraogir Gosani have come from the Jat to make an alliance; Calendar of Persian Correspondence. Vol. 11, Nos. 120, 128. 114, 12A, 12F, 12E, 12D.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 164, Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, pp. 10, 14, Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 11, Nos. 12B, 36, 213.

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 11, Nos. 12E, 36, 213.

4. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vo. 3, p. 1244.

Vithal Shivdev in Bundelkhand and leaving behind Mahadji Sindia, he came to Ujjain.[1] The Governor of Bengal with Shujauddaulah was ready to help Raghunathrao against Abdali and asked him to stay in the north.[2] Nana Phadnis also asked Shujauddaulah and the Nawab of Bengal to form a defensive alliance against Ahmad Shah Abdali.[3] But before any alliance could be made, the Marathas marched in self defence and Raghunathrao could not be kept in the north.[4] Ahmad Shah Abdali had written to the Marathas within a short time that he had no intentious against the Marathas and was moving directly to Poona.[5] Raghunathrao did not utilise this opportunity.

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 3, p. 1244

[2] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 207, No. 234 says that 'on the arrival of Abdali at Sarhind and when the Rohillah sardars sent their vakils to him the Vazir advised the English to make an alliance with the Marathas, Jats, and other Hindustani Sardars'.

[3] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, Nos. 224-225.

[4] *Caldnear of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 213.

[5] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 265, *Persian Records of Marathas History*, Vol. 1, P. 13, says that 'Mahadji Sindia and Raghunathrao sent letters to Najib Khan, who was on good relations with them. Najib Khan sent Bakhtawar Singh with Bapu Pandit on 31st January 1767 to the camp of Raghunathrao with the presents for him and other sardars. Raghunathrao and Sindia were in facour of maintaining peace with Abdali and Najib Khan. Abdali was also in favour of peace'.

Raghunathrao did not complete any thing properly. His failure deeply affected Maratha prestige in the north.[1] After the return of Raghunartrao from the north, Jawahirmal Jat became very aggresive. He suppressed the disloyal Gosain generals.[2]

In May, 1767, the Jats and Rohillahs threatened Yesaji Narhar, who was at Mahu, to vacate thefortress. But circumstances did not help the allies and they had to go from Mahu.[3] During the rainy season in the month of July, Jawahirmal with a force captured the Maratha terrotories from Bhind. Ater to Kalpi.[4] The Jats captured almost all the important thanas in Maratha territory. Due to this Jat success, a Maratha officer Ranaji Abaji wrote to Vishwasrao, the officer incharge of Malwa, stationed at Gwalior, to become friendly with

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 185, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, ed. V.V. Khare, year 1901, P. 1875 says that 'the expedition sent to the north under Raghunathrao could not prove of much use; New History of Marathas, Vol. 11, P. 508, 'Raghunath Rao had to go back to the south, due to the shortage of money. He could not bring any effective results during his one and a half year expedition'.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 164; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P. 10, 'Jawahar Singh has entered Agra. By the investigation of Ram Kishan Mahant, Jawahir Singh allienated Umraogir and other Gosain Sardars and looted their camp so the Gosains have gone away with a ~~na f[illegible]men~~ few horse men towards Dada's Camp, who has favoured them", Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 113 says that 'Anupgir took flight and went across the Jamuna. The English took him with themselves. He has decided to serve Shujauddaulah now'.

3. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, Nos.106-108.

4. Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. 1, No. 156, Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 207.

Jawahirmal through Gaur of Indurki. Balaji Govind Kher, the officer in-charge of Kalpi, was ready to pay Rs. 3 lakhs to the Jats for not ravaging his country but the Jats did not accept his offer. All the country was destroyed due to the Jat attacks and revenue collection became very difficult. The Rana of Gohad also joined them.[1]

The Jat Raja sent ten thousand troops to chase Balji and compelled him to go across Vetravati and join the Bundela Chief. The Jats attacked the force of Balaji and plundered the Maratha camp. Balaji Govind sent a officer for term with the Jats who demanded a ransom of Rs. 50,000 and service of Two thousand force. The Jats established their control in Kalpi. The Chief of Samathar also called Jawahirmal and assured him of a revenue collection of twenty thousand rupees. The Jat forces captured Mahu in July 1767 and turned out the Maratha forces from there. He came toterms with the mamlatdar Bajirao Anant of Gwalior and took Jigni Jatalwar, Towardhar and Sikarbar from the Marathas and went across the river Chambal.[2]

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[1] Selection from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 3, PP. 114, 120, Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. 1, No. 156; Selection from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 57, 152, 147, 159, 169, 176, 185, 171, 192, 196, 207-208, 215.

[2] Selection from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, Nos. 118-138, Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. 1, No. 156; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 57 says that 'the Rohillahs have joined the Jats and reached near Bhind and Rachhwadhar'. Nos. 147, 149, 152, 176, 169, 171, 190-192, 196, 217, 207-208, 215.

The ruler of Pachor and Gohad also joined Jawahirmal. The ruler of Gohad requested him to recapture the posts seized by the Marathas. He promised to remove all the Maratha posts from his dominion in October if no other Maratha army arrived from Deccan.[1] By October 1767, the whole Bundelkhand had gone under Jat possession. A Marathi letter says "The Jats have established their anial in Kalpi, Kachhwadhar, Shadwar, Towardhar, Sikarbar, Dandroli, Khatoli, etc. No body opposed them...... only Gwalior and Jhansi are not in their possession"[2] and the remaining is under Jat rule.

So it was the main point before the Peshwa to finish[3] the Jat influence in the north. At this time the English were encouraging Jawahirmal to make an allience of Jats, Rohillas and Ahmad Khan Bangash with Shujauddaulah against the Marathas.[4]

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1. Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. 1, No. 156

2. Selection fro m Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 152, 215; Purandare Daftar, Vol. 3, No. 66 says that 'Jawahirmal Jat has created many disturbances. He has established posts in Garwai, Hamipur, Kalpi, Raipur etc. Now the Jats will march towards Jhansi. Jawahirmal is at Raipur'.

3. Selection from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, Introduction P. 12, Selection from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 215.

4. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 11, No. 597; Press List of Records belonging to the Foreign Department, Government of India, Series I, Select Committee, 1756-1774, P. 73.

The Jat Raja showed the respect towards the English and despatched Padre, Don Pedro to Calcutta talks.[1] But before his arrival at Calcutta he was recalled due to some disturbances in the Jat State.[2]

Soon after this the position of the Marathas improved considerably due to a sudden misfortune which overtook Jawahir mal when he started quarrel with Madho Singh of Jaipur. On attaining civtory over the Marathas in Bundelkhand, Jawahirmal planned to form a union with the Rajputs with the aim of turning out the Marathas from the territory north of narmada. He went to Pushkar with his army and made friendship with Vijay Singh of Marwar. Vijay Singh sent his men to Madho Singh to make an alliance to capture the territory of the Marathas but to refused. The Raja of Jaipur felt it a great insult and defeated Jawahirmal at Maonda on 14th December 1767. Madho Singh came out victorious.[3]

Early in January 1768 the news was spread that the forces under Tukoji Holkar, Sindia, Raje Bahadur, Vithal Shivdev, Trimbak, Shivdev and Khanderao Pwar have been sent by the

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 11, No. 642.

2. Caldnear of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 11, No. 854.

3. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 75, 108, 153, 162, 192; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 139, 143-144, Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.11, No. 789, This letter tells about the overthrow of Jawahirmal by Madho Singh, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 3, P. 1201.

Peshwa to the north to quell the disturbances created by the Jats.[1]

Six weeks before this battle the Marathas had recovered a great part of Bundelkhand.[3] In July 1768 Jawahirmal was killed by a soldier when he was seeing the elephant-fighting in Agra fort.[3] Thus Jawahirmal unnecessarily involved himself in the hestility with the Marathas. It not only overstained his inadequate resources but existed long after him and brought about the ruin of his state.

The Peshwa Madhavrao was very keen to improve the Maratha position in Northern India. So after the expedition on Bhoslas,[4] the Peshwa sent another force to the north in

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1. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, P. 108, 112, Nos. 145, 170, *Press List of Records*, Foreign Department, Series I, Secret Department, p. 107, Dated 5th November 1767 says that 'Tukoji Holkar was about to cross Narmada. Madhorao and Rghunathrao were ~~were~~ expected to move towards north, P. 111.

2. *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 75, says that 'the Jats have evacuated the posts of Kalpi, Bundelkhand and *Dabhuva* and the Marathas have established their posts as earlier, Nos. 84, 196, *Press List of Records*, Foreign Departmen Series I, Select Committee, P. 107 dated 26th Oct. 1767 says that, 'Jawahir Singh evacuated the Kalpi fort and the Marathas recaptured it8, *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New series, Vol. 3, No. 82 says that 'Mahadji Sindia and Malhor Holkar are near Gohad while their forces have crossed the Chambal river'.

3. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol. 3, P. 108, 112 No. 170, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 11, No. 1100, ~~Series~~ *Seir Mutakherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. IV, P. 34; Vol. XXIX, No. 233, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 11, P. 343, says that Jawahir Mal died in August 1768.

4. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1875; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, P. 509.

the year 1769 under the leadership of Ram Chandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna as his diwan with 20,000 state cavalry, artillery and with some other troops.[1] Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar each with 15,000 army joined them in Malwa. During the middle of the year 1769 Visaji went to Malwa crossing the Narmada. There he joined the Sindia's forces and the number of their forces reached fifty thousand.[2] The Marathas seized some forts and territory in the Kechi Country of Raghogarh. Then they went to Bundi and Kota to collect the tribute from the local Rajas. Mahadji Sindia had encamped in Udaipur and collected sixty lakhs of rupees as tribute.[3]

In December 1769, the Marathas marched to the Karauli territory and plundered the Rajputs of Jaipur to collect the tribute from them. Then the joint Maratha forces under Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and the Peshwa's force under Ramchandra Ganesh

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1. Aitihasik Sankirna Sahitya, Vol. 7, No. 36, Aitihasik Charitren, Part. 11, P. 113, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, ∠ 1770-1774, ed.V.V.Khare, Kolhapur,1901, Vol. IV, ∠, P. 1875, Imperial Record Department,; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, 1770-1772, Vol. 3, Calcutta, 1919, No. 387; Islamic Culture, Vol. 8, April, 1934, P. 251; Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh, (Pers. Text), P. 124.

2. Aitihasik Charitren, Part 11, P. 113.

3. Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagera, Nos. 222, 223, Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 245 dated 2.10.1769 says that Raghogarh has been besieged. Talks for an agreemtnt are going on between the Raja of Raghogarh and Tukoji Holkar. Tukoji is in Raghogarh with his forces; Aitihasik Lekh Sangarha, Vol. IV, P. 1875 says that 'After crossing Narmada the Maratha force just went to Bundelkhand. There they were divided into three parts. Ram Chandra Ganesh remained in Bundelkhand during the rainy season to crush the rebellions Rajas. Mahadji Sindia went to Udaipur. Tukoji Holkar went to Bundi, Kota, and other Rajputs to to collect the tribute.

planned to march against the Jats.[1]

Ali Gohar entitled Emperor Shah Alam II who was staying in Allahabad under British protection promised to pay the amount of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Marathas if they defeated the Jats.[2] The son of Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, was also ready to pay fifty lakhs of rupees if the Marathas could suffessfully tackle with the Jats and make consequent arrangements.[3]

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, Nos. 128, 129, 155; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Introduction, P. 2, No. 249; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 21, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* , Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. 3, Calcutta, 1964, P. 6.

[2] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, Nos. 222, 223, *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1875, *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 245; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 155, *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 21 says that Ramchandra Ganesh, Tukoji and other Maratha Sardars reached near Karauli with the intention to march towards Jat country.

[3] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 223, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, P. 510.

When the Marathas were in Jaipur, the envoys of Ranjit Singh met them to get their help against his rival Nawal Singh.[1] The Marathas marched from Jaipur in the Jat Country at the invitation of Ranjit Singh and started correspondence with Ranjit Singh who was in Kumbher fort.[2] In March 1770, the Marathas reached the Kumbher fort and had a meeting with Ranjit Singh near the fort.[3] Ranjit Singh did not pay the promised tribute to the Marathas so they started plundering and destroying the territories of both the Jat rulers Ranjit Singh and Nawal Singh.[4] Nawal Singh had encamped with his army

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 161,178, No. 129 says that 'The Jats are divided into two parties. One party is treating with the Sikhs with the object of exterminating the Marathatas and the other is entreating the Marathats to make war on the Sikhs'; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, No. 6, New History of the Marathas, Vol.11, P. 510; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.) P. 117, says that 'in the year 1768 Jawahir Singh had died and his brother Nawal Singh succeeded him; Peshwa Madhavrao I, P. 156, Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere Lakh, No. 223 says that the two sons of Surajmal are fighting.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 155, 161; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.) says that 'in the year 1770 Ram Chandra Ganesh, Tukoji Holkar and Sindia marched into the Jat country with a force of two lakhs and plundered the Jat country'.

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 155, 161; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 283, says that the ruler of Kumbher came to meet the Maratha sardars in the Camp.

4. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 155, 161; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.) P. 117; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnan, Vol. 3, No. 459; The History of the Jats, P. 229 says that 'the Marathas plundered the neighbourhood of Bharatpur and persuaded Ranjit Singh to x reopen the war against his brother Nawal Singh'.

in the fort of Dig and he could notddecide whether he should fight or pay tribute to the Marathas.[1] He was simply watching the activities of the Marathas.[2]

The Jat Raja took shelter in his fort. There were daily skirmishes between the two parties but no open battle was fought.[3] During this period the Marathas tried to enter into an alliance with Najib-ud-daulah. A conflict arose in the Maratha camp about the question of alliance. Tukoji Holkar sent his vakils and wanted to contimue the old friendship with Najibuddaulah which was established by Malhar Holkar. Najib promised Tukoji Holkar to stick to an agreement made with Malhar Holkar.[4] Najib agreed to join them.[4] Ramchandra Ganesh

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 161; *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 249, pp. 302-305, No. 250 says that 'on getting news of the advance of the united forces of the Maratha generals, Nawal Singh Jat wanted to make them some liberal concessions.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 302-305.

3. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 459 Dated 30.3.1770; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 1 Vol. 3, No. 178.

4. *Islamic Culture*, April 1934, pp. 251-254; '*Najib*, the Ruhela Chief' Jadunath Sarker, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1936 P. 658.

5. *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1936, P. 658, *Islamic Culture*, April 1934, PP. 251-254; *Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh*, (Pers. Text), P.124, says that 'Najib joined the Marathas thinking that the Maratha sardars will take the revenge of the death of Bhau; *History of the Rohillah Afghans*, P. 162 says that 'Seeing that the Marathas w ere, with large force, Najib joined them in their atracks on the Jats; *Marathi Rajyacha Uttrardha*, Y.V. Khare, Vol. 1, year 1927, PP. 237-238.

also supported Tukoji but Mahadji Sindia was not in favour of making an alliance and friendship with Najib because he had killed his three gamily members and lamed him. He said that Najib was the great enemy of the Marathas. The Marathas could not take the revenge from Najib after making an alliance with him.[1] Ram Chandra Ganesh was of the opinion that the Marathas had come to the north after a long time. If they would not make friendship with Najib, all the Ruhelas as well as Shujauddaulah would join him to oppose and fight a great battle against the Marathas So he was in favour of making friendship with Najib after taking Oaths from him. Then the Marathas would attack the Jats who did not pay the tribute since a long time and would capture their money and territory and no one in Hindustan would join the Jats.

Tukoji also thought that Najib would keep his promise and if Najib joined the Marathas, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundi Khan would also join him and the Jats and other powers in Northern India would be frightened.[2]

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1. Islamic Culture, April 1934, P. 251 - 254 says that Mahadji said "No harm. I shall write the Peshwa, if he will approve, it is good".

2. Islamic Culture, April 1934, PP. 251 - 254, Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 200 says that some Maratha Leaders supported an alliance with Najibuddaulah while the others were against it.

Finally the Marathas entered into an alliance with Najib Khan.[1] Najib had to capture the Jat territories in the middle doab. On the other hand the Marathas had to continue their attacks in the Jat territory west of the Jamuna.[2]

Now the Marathas marched towards Doab. Nawal Singh marched from Dig to protect his doab territory. On 6th April 1770 in a battle near Sonkh, Nawal Singh was severly defeated by the Marathas. Nawal Singh went in frot of Aring for safety and later on moved to Dig.[3] The Marathas pursued them upto

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[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 193, Dated 2nd May 1770 says that 'Najib joined the Marathas. Other Rohillah sardars also started correspondence with the Marathas. Ghaziuddin Khan also marched to join the Marathas; Nos.178, 195 says that 'the English say that the alliance of the Marathas and Najibuddaulah with Ghaziuddin Khan has been formed against the Emperor; No. 244 says that Ghaziuddin Khan has joined the Marathas.

[2] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 200 says that 'Najib had to attack the Jat country on one side of Jamuna while the Marathas on the other side to ruin the power of Ranjit Singh; No. 178 says that 'Najib made an alliance with the Marathas to capture Aligarh and other districts South of Jamuna, Najib went to Sikandrabad and sent his troops to capture the districts south of Jamuna; Selections from Daftar, Vol.XXIX, Nos. 246, 254-262.

[3] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 184, 180, 193, The last letter says that the Marathas won the victory over the Jats, Vol. 11, No. 184, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, Nos. 970, 971; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 254 Dated 28.4.1770, the writer says that men were wounded and killed in the battle of Nawal Singh Jat; also Nos. 255-261, Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.3, No.460. The writer says that 'a battle was fought at Jawahar Garhi. Then the Marathas marched from Kumbher and encamped at three Kos distance. The Jat King marched from Dig and came at three kos on this side. The three forces went to Sopar after making preparations; No. 461 says that the three Sardars fought with the Jats and defeated them. Our Sardars captured many horses and cannons; Islamic Culture, Oct. 1936 says that the Marathas

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Dig and then went to Mathura to plan a invasion of the Doab.[1] At the same time, Najib had captured the Jat fort of Mohjhil and their parganas of Jewar, Dankaur, Tappal and Dabhai.

Again conflicts started among the Maratha Sardars for the policy to be adopted. It was a nice time to restore the Maratha influence in the north as there was no powerful enemy in the territory west of British protected Oudh but due to internal jealousy and lack of statementship among the Maratha sardars they could not succeed in their aim. Ram Chandra Ganesh and his diwan Visaji Krishna were so jealous of each other that they could not work unitedly. Tukoji Holkar was guided by the old ministers who wanted to contimue the policy of Malhar Holkar and opposed every step suggested by Mahadji Sindia just becasse he was Sindia.

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defeated Nawal Singh Jat in April 1770; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.) P. 117 says that Nawal Singh continued fighting with the Marathas from 4th to 6th April 1770. He was defeated and went into his forts and made preparations; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P.22 says that after their victory the Marathas encamped at Vrindawan and Mathura; History of the Rohillah Afghans, P. 162.

1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 246, 254, 255, 257, Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.1, P. 22

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, XXIX, Nos.246,254,255,257,262, No. 259 says that Najib Khan has sent a force under his son towards the Jats. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.3, No. 178 says that Najib reached Sikandra and sent his troops to capture the districts south of Jamuna; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P. 22, tells about the capture of Mohjhil by Najib.

Thus from the very beginning the Maratha camp was divided into two groups. Mahadji Sindia was against Holkar and whenever Ramchandra Ganesh favoured Mahadji, Visaji sided Holkar because Tukoji was against the Supreme Chief. So the Maratha sardars could not decide their policy after the Jat defeat at Sonkh.[1]

Mahadji Sindia wanted that the Marathas should enter into an agreement with Nawal Singh for a moderate amount and then to capture the jagirs of Rohillahs and Bangash chiefs in Doab to suppress Najib who was the bitterest enemy of the Marathas in Northern India.

On the other hand the policy of Ram Chandra Ganesh was to seize as much money as possible from Nawal Singh and to capture the Jat territories in the Doab with a joint effort of Maratha and Rohillah forces. Ram Chandra Ganesh told that Maratha forces have come to Hindustan after ten years, if they would not be friendly with Najib Khan, all the other powers would join Najib Khan against the Marathas and it would be very difficult to face the combined forces. Tukoji Holkar had the

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1. Selections From Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No.252, Dated 8.2.1770 says that 'Ram Chandra Ganesh and Mahadji Sindia were not agreed with each other so the work could not be done smoothly. So Ganjoji Nadam was sent to Mahadji Sindia to Marwar to call him back and to establish reconciliation among Ram Chandra Ganesh, Holkar and Sindia so that they may work in cooperation; No.255 says that 'the Jats want to make an agreement. All are of the opinion that an agreement should be made with the Jats. He will give the tribute and would be strengthened. But instead of doing it according to Holkar the plan would succeed if done according to the advice of Najib. Only due to Najib all the contracts have been broken There is difference of opinion regarding the plans; No.257; Press List of Records Foreign Department, Series I, Select Committee, p. 195 says that there was a differences of opinion among the Maratha sardars about the way how to invade the Jat country.

hereditary rivalry with the house of Sindia and he always supported the interests of Najib. The Peshwa supported the plan of Ram Chandra Ganesh and the Maratha army marched on 24th April to go into the Doab.[1]

Najibuddaulah had already arrived on the eastern bank of Jamuna. Envoys from both the sides are sent to confirm the alliance.[2] Tukoji Holkar went into the camp of Najib on 17th April 1770 and Najib came to meet the Maratha chiefs after two days. Najib tried to come on better relations with Sindia but it remained without any effect.[3]

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 254, 262, 246, 255 P. 307, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.3, No. 200 says that "It appears that some of the Maratha Sardars are in favour of an alliance with Najibuddaulah while the others are opposed to it", No. 216, *Sindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 461 Dated: 31st May 1770. The letter from Sonai near Gokul in Doab says that "Tukoji Holkar brought Najib Khan. Najib Khan met with Ramchandra. All the three became friendly so the hearts of the two sardars are not clear. Now the Rohillahs have created problem".

2. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 22 says that "On 13th April Naro Pandit, the diwan of Tukoji Holkar, Sultan rao Lambhate, Govindrao and Abdul Ahan Khan met Najib. Najib talked in a very friendly way and gave them presents".

3. *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.3, No. 461, Dated 31st May 1770, The letter from Sonai near Gokul in Doab says that "Tukoji Holkar brought Najib Khan. Najin met with Ramchandra. All the three became friendly. So the hearts of the two sardars are not clear; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.),p. 117 says that "Najib with all the preparations went to the Marathas. After reaching Aligarh within the few days in April 1770,he started friendly talks and had a meeting with Marathas chief and improved his relations with Marathas by staying with them", *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.XXIX, No. 260, Naro Narsi writes from Ramgarh that all the plans are failing due to Najib Khan. The Maratha Government will not be benefited by Najib, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.3, No. 185 says that "the Marathas reached Agra territory and made an alliance with Najib Khan to suppress the power of the Jats and to capture their territory and wealth in the name of Jawan Bakht", *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1936, P. 6581 says that Najib went to Aligarh with 30,000 horse and foot and joined the Maratha Sardars Tukoji, Mahadji and Ramchandra Ganesh and stayed in Maratha camp for one month".

On 24th April the large Maratha force marched from Mathura and laid his camp close to the camp of Najib on the east bank of the Jamuna. Najib captured about twenty villages of the Jat Perganas of Shukohabad and Sadabad and appointed his own collectors and troops there. The Marathas also captured some other places and the whole territory was plundered by the Paindharies. Soon after it due to a conflict between the allies Najib went towards Aligarh leaving his allies.

After the departure of Najib a conflict of policy started between Sindia and Holkar. While Mahadji Sindia was ready to take sixty five lakhs of rupees from the Jat Raja as war indemnity, Tukoji demanded the tribute of eighty lakhs. No decision could be made and the Marathas started their attacks in the Jat villages of the Doab.[1]

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[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.3, No. 211 says that 'the Maratha sardars were spread in Agra province while Mathura was their headquarter. The Marathas were planning to more towards Kora, No. 216 says that 'Tukoji Holkar laid his camp at three kos distance of Brindavan ghat crossing the Jamuna with his force and baggage. After two days Ramchandra Ganesh also laid his camp near Tukoji. Mahadji, Sindia was on this side of Jamuna river. The Marathas wanted to capture the territory between the two river which was earlier in Jat possession; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 183, dated 16th Aug. 1970, 'The writer says that 'the matter of the Jats could not be decided. One or two agreements were made earlier but they could not be finalised; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 3, No. 463, says that 'the forces are in Doab since the last months. Najib Khan and the three sardars are here. The matter or the Jatw is still not decided; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 214 also Vol.XXIX Nos. 246, 255, 260, letter No. 257 Dated 17th May 1770 says that

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By the end of May 1770, the Maratha troops devastated the Bangash territory in Farrukhabad. In the end of June a Maratha force under Balaji and Gangadhar marched from Kalpi

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'Sindia wants to accept the indemnity while Holkar is not ready ..... The Sardars are not on talking terms. They quarrel daily. Here are three sardars but no tribute could be collected; No. 261, The writer says that "Ram-Chandra and Visaji reached Mathura and encamped on the bank of Yamuna. The vakil of Nawal Singh proposed for tribute but no agreement could be made. So we came to Doab crossing the Yamuna. Forces were sent in the territory to capture it. Then he (Jats) said for 50-55 lakhs but we sent the terms for 75 lakhs as tribute and to evacuate the Maratha territory. But he is not ready for it. Najib and Shuja-ud-daulah Khan are with us. The Vakils from Shuja and the Emperor have come. Dundi Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash have sent their vakils. Now the rains are reaching. Big works are to be done. Few days are remaining. So we are enacmping in this province", No. 255 Dated 4.5.1770. The writer Naro Narsi writes from Hasiaganj in Doab that "Sindia, Holkar and both the Sardars with Huzrat troops and with Najib are in Doab. They would capture the Jat territory and the Maratha territory which was taken by Rohillas and Bangash. Deciding it they have sent Baburao Hari and Ganesh Vithal with one thousand force at eight or ten kos distance to capture these places. They would marched behind them. The Jats want that an agreement should be made with them. He would immediately give the tribute and would be strenghened. But Holkar wanted to do this work according to the advice of Najib. Only due to Najib all the contracts have been broken", No. 258. The writer Baburao Keshav writes from Sonai in Doab that "the Jat has agreed for the payment of sixty five lakhs. But Holkar is not ready. Sindia wants to finish this matter. After that the Marathas would go to the Pathans to evacuate the mahals by agreement".

and captured a few villages in Etawa district from the Rohilla hands.[1]

The rainy season arrived and the Maratha forces came to Aligarh for encampment.[2] During the rainy season the Marathas realized their mistake of entering into an alliance with Najib. Najib had written letters to Hafiz Rahmat and other Rohillas of the Trans-Gangatic region to foil the Maratha plans and to make an anti-Maratha alliance.[3]

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[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 255 says that "the Marathas have made attack on the districts of Ahmad Khan Bangash and Shujauddaulah's vakil is accompanying Maratha army", No. 250 Dated 12 June 1770 says that "Najib had entered into an alliance with the Marathas and the Marathas are trying to capture Etawa and other territories of Hafiz Rahmat Khan", No. 307 tells that "the Marathas were invited by the Zamindars of Ajitpur and Khanpur Auraiya which were in the district of Etawa. Ram Chandra Ganesh with other Sardars was encamped on this side of the city near Shukohabad and Farrukhabad which are close to Etawa, No. 317 says that the Marathas captured Akharpur from the hands of Ahmad Khan's officers who took fight without any resistance, No. 263;

[2] Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 214, Vol. XXIX, Introduction, P.2, No. 262.

[3] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 325 says "the people of Tukoji Holkar intercepted a letter written by Najib to Hafiz Rahmat Khan".

So Ram Chandra Ganesh decided to settle the matters with Nawal Singh Jat.[1] Nawal Singh agreed to pay the amount of sixty-five lakhs in three years and also an annual tribute of eleven lakhs. A jagir worth twenty-five lakhs a year was to be given to Ranjit Singh.[2]

Now the Maratha Chief sent their envoys to Trans-Gangetic Rohillahs to capture those jagirs of the Marathas which the Rohillahs had seized after the battle of Panipat.

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 323 says that "Najib wanted to go to Shahjahanabad but Ram Chandra Ganesh and other Maratha sardars did not want it".

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 262, 246, 253, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vo. 3, No. 325, says that "Nawal Singh agreed to give the Marathas 65 lakhs excluding the revenues of the provinces captured by Najib Khan and the Marathas. He had to pay ten lakhs in 20 days, Rs. 15 lakhs with two months, 7½ lakhs in the month of holi (Phagun) and the rest half within three years and also an annual tribute of eleven lakhs and a jagir of twenty lakhs to Ranjit Singh. This agreement was signed by both the parties", No. 445 says that "Out of sixty five lakhs, 6 lakhs are to be paid in bills, 50,000 in specie, 3 lakhs in bounds under the seal and signature of Najib immediately, 7½ lakhs at the end of May and June and the rest 32½ at the end of May and June and the rest 32½ lakhs at the end of two years", No. 505 says that "the Marathas compelled Nawal Singh to give his brother Ranjit Singh the possession of Kumbher fort worth 20 lakhs annual revenue; ~~No. 514 says that the 20 lakhs annual revenue~~"; No. 514 says that the Marathas have settled to matters with the Jats; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1877.

But they refused to give these lands.[1]

Now the Maratha Chiefs asked Najibuddaulah who advised them to sent ten thousand troops to capture the Jat territory near Delhi and promised to send five thousand troops for their help. He told them that without collecting the money from the Jats, the Marathas could not collect even a pie from Doab.[2] Thus Najib Khan was successful in diverting the Maratha attention from the Afghans towards the Jats.

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 445 says that "the Maratha sardars are about to quit the country of Nawal Singh .... Every thing has been settled and that the Marathas are turning their attention to the country of the Afghans"; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, P. 1694; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 214, Selections from Peshwa Daftar, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 182, dated 22 July 1770 says that "Ahmad Khan Gangash has sent his vakil Shaikh Latib as a letter of Tatya was received that the Mahals of Pathans have been captured. You should evacuate them. Talls are going on about it. A vakil has been sent to Farrukhabad. It is said that Apaji Keshav came after establishing amal near Bundelas. A force of 5 - 6 thousand Rohillahas went on him. A battle was fought. The Rohillahas and Pathans were defeated. The Pathans and Rohillahs who were in different places were gathered and became powerful. There are differences every where", Selections of Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 255, 258, 261.

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 246, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, No. 1001, Dated 21st July 1770. A Maratha officer wrote from Doab that 'our three chiefs dance..... as Najib orders them'.

A Maratha force of five thousand marched towards the Ganges on 29th August but they could not move further due to the climate. Finding his end nearer Najib concluded peace between the Jats and the Marathas on 8th October.[1] On 31st October Najib died at Hapur.[2] Before his death Najib called his son Zabita Khan and asked him to serve the Marathas as their friend with five thousand horse and foot.[3]

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1. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 1770, PP. 680-682; 693-699,769-770.

2. Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.), P. 113, says that "when Najib became seriously ill, he gave the hand of his son Zabita Khan into the hands of the three Maratha Chiefs and leaving the Marathas he reached Hapur. Najib Khan died on 31st October 1770. The Maratha Sardars gave condolences and robes to Zabita Khan, who was in the Maratha camp, with all the formalities"; Islamic Culture Oct. 1936, P. 658 says that "Najib became seriously ill. He called his son Zabita Khan and asked him to serve the Marathas as their friend with 5000 horse and foot. The writer has given 30th October for the death of Najib Khan.

3. Islamic Culture, Oct. 1936, P. 658, Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.), P. 113, Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, P. 1694; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 473.

Now the Marathas marched against the Chiefs of Rohillahs and Bangash. They plundered the districts of Etawa, Shukohabad and Kanauj and captured some posts from the Afghans.[1] In December 1770 Ram Chandra Ganesh seized Etawa which was under Qabir Khan, a officer of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. After a fortnight, Qabir Khan evacuated the fort after an agreement.[2] Now the attention of the Marathas was directed towards Farrukhabad.[3] Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent his

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 505 says that "Ahmad Khan was ready to pay 22 lakhs if the Marathas left Etawa but the Marathas refused. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was in favour of fighting than of payment. Ghaziuddin is trying to establish peace"; No. 517 says that 'the Maratha forces have advanced as far as Kora and have destroyed and seized several places and demanded their surrender; No. 571 dated 23 Jan. 1771 says that "Ghaziuddin Khan came from the Maratha camp to settle terms with Hafiz Rahmat and Ahmad Khan. The Marathas agreed to remove their troops from Etawa, Shukohabad and Qanauj on the payment of a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs payable within three year. Hafiz Rahmat Khan also agreed for an additional Maratha demand of two lakhs. Hafiz Rahmat Khan had to pay 5½ lakh for Etawa, Ahmad Khan 12 lakhs for Qanauj and Dundi Khan 2½ lakh for Shukohabad and both the parties accepted it. Ram chandra Ganesh and Mahadji were satisfied with this agreement but Tukoji opposed and was in favour of g fighting as he was the enemy of Ghaziuddin. Tukoji supported Zabita Khan".

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 503,504, 505, 517, 544, 522, 562, 530; Selections from Peshwa Daftar Vol. XXIX, PP. 311-313; Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sandhnen, Vol. 3, No. 464.

3. Sindeshahi Itihasachi Sandhnen, Vol. 3, No. 464, says that 'three forces are marching to Farukhabad. The three sardars are not one minded; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 562 says that 'After capturing Etawa they started negotiations with Ahmad Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Daundi Khan both the sides were ready for fighting. Shujauddaulah has also sent his son with a force to the confines of his country, No. 571, Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh, (Pers. text), 126-127.

help for the defence of Farrukhabad. The Marathas started negotiations due to division among the Maratha Chiefs.[1]

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[1] *Shindeshahi Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. 3, No. 464 says that "Now the three forces are marching to Farrukhabad. The three sardars are not one minded. The two sardars are united." Ramchandra Ganesh is not on good terms with the other two. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, No. 517 says that "it is hoped the Marathas will soon enter into an agreement with the Rohillahs and march towards the country of Shujauddaulah"; Nos. 262, 530, 544; No. 571 dated 23 Jan. 1771 says that "Ghaziuddin Khan came from the Maratha camp to settle terms with Hafiz Rahmat and Ahmad Khan. The Marathas agreed to remove their troops from Etawa, Farrukhabad and Qanauj on the payment of sum of Rs. 20 lakhs payable within three years. Hafiz Rahmat Khan also agreed foran additional Maratha demand oftwo lakhs. Hafiz Rahmat Khan had to pay 5½ lakh for Etawa, Ahmad Khan 12 lakhs for Kanauj and Dundi Khan 2½ lakhs for Shukohabad and both the parties accepted it. Ram Chandra Ganesh and Mahadji were satisfied with this agreement but Tukoji opposed and was in favour of fighting as he was the enemy of Ghaziuddin. Tukoji supported Zabita Khan. During this 10,000 Marathas troops plundered the country dependant on fort Farrukhabad. A clash occurred between the forces of Rohillahs and Marathas. A large number of the Marathas were killed in this clash and rest took flight. Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent his help for Farrukhabad Gulamrai reached to negotiate from Maratha side....... Ramchandra Ganesh wrote to the Peshwa about the differences between himself and Tukoji. Tukoji wanted to decide the matters with Rohillahs independently while Ramchandra wanted to settle them through Mahadji Sindia".

After the death of Najibuddaulah a new conflict arose between Sindia and Holkar and so also in Maratha politics. Visaji Krishna and Mahadji Sindia demanded a sum of twenty five lakhs of rupees from Zabita Khan to succeed to his father's post of Mir Bakhshi. Tukoji Holkar favoured Zabita Khan so the latter refused to pay the sum. So Visaji and Mahadji Sindia asked Holkar to expel Zabita Khan from his camp.[1] Ahmad Khan Bangash wanted to get the post of Imperial

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[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.3, No. 606,614 says "Ramchandra Ganesh has sent Faru Pandit with directions to Tukoji Holkar to dismiss Zabita Khan from the army. If Zabita Khan leaves, Visaji Pandit will remain with the forces, other wise the latter will return to the Deccan. It is reported that Visaji Pandit will quit the army tomorrow. He only awaits a reply from Tukoji, Visaji wishes that Zabita Khan should either leave the camp or pay a nazranah of 25 lakhs on becoming Bakshi. Visaji is strongly opposed to Zabita Khan's succeeding his father, seeing that he has rendered no conspicuous services to the Empire. All the officers of the army are Visaji Pandit's friends and uphold his views. They consider Ramchandra Ganesh a fool. All this is due to the instigation of Madhoji Sindia. Visaji Pandit and Madhoji Sindia wish to prevent Tukoji Holkar from accepting the terms offered by the Rohillah and to make Ahmad Khan Bakshi for he has promised them a sum of money as soon as he is appointed. As soon as they have done this, they propose to set out for kanar Manikpore, to negotiate with His Majesty. If he comes over to their side and gives up Kanar Manikpore, they will administer the Empire as His Majesty may direct. But if he does not accede to their request, they will carry out the designs of Ghaziuddin Khan. Ramchandra Ganesh is disgusted with these machinations and is staying at his encampment, expecting the arrival of Takoji. Advice has been received today that Takoji is at a distance of 6 kos. It is reported that the Marathas intend to write to Zabita Khan to set out for Shahjahanabad. They wish to establish either Ghaziuddin Khan or Ahmad Khan (Or any body else who will give them money) at the capital. Their first and foremost object appears to be the dismisal of Zabita Khan. Ramchandra Ganesh has had an interview with Takoji Holkar, and now appears very much dejected. The affairs of Ahmad Khan have been settled for 10 lakhs of rupees, and those of Hafiz Rahmat Khan for 12 lakhs. On 27th January early in the morning, Ramchandra Ganesh gave the signal for marching.

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Mir Bakshi. He was ready to make the payment.[1] So on 28th January 1771, a treaty was finalised by which Hafiz Rahman Khan was ready for the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees and Ahmad Khan for ten lakhs of rupees to the Marathas.[2]

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He mounted his elephant about 7 O8clock, marched 5 kos and pitched his tents in the village of Maybassi, yesterday was the date fixed upon for setting out for the Deccan, but Ram chandra Ganesh has changed his mind and thinks it unwise to start without taking the advice of Madho Rao, No. 607 says that "the trwops under the command of Ram Chandra Ganesh and Visaji Pandit have arrival at Eliabad, which is within 7 kos of Moinpore. They have quitted the route of Etawa. It is now clear that they intend to march to the capital. Madhoji Sindia has sent a person to Hafiz Rahmat Khan and also to Ahmad Khan with the following message we have consented to the terms of your treaty and have quitted your country. We are bent upon marching to the capital and have, therefore, recalled Ghaziuddin Khan. If you wish to get the appointment of Bakhshi, you may join us with five or six thousand Afghans and with the same number of Rohillas". Tahmasp Nama, (Eng. Tr.), P. 118 says that "Maratha Chief sent condolences and robes to Zabita Khan with all formalities. Mahadji Sindia sent a message to Zabita Khan demanding succession fee for giving him the post of his father but Zabita Khan did not give a proper reply. The Maraths became angry. Ramchandra Ganesh supported Sindia but Tukoji Holkar favoured Zabita Khan"; Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh (Pers. Text.), P. 126, says that 'Najib Khan had three sons, Zabita Khan, Kallu Khan and Mally Khan, Zabita Khan took the possession of all the territory treasury and forces of his father".

[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 605.

[2] Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 313; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 605 says that Hafiz Rahmat Khan paid 12lakhs while Ahmad Khan 10 lakhs to the Marathas.

A letter dated 21st December 1770 addressed by Madhavrao to his commandants Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna shows how anxiously he had given the directions for northern expedition to his commandants. He has written "It is now over twenty months since you were asked to proceed to the north with a force numbering some fifty thousand led by picked captains. Never since the celebrated expedition of Bhau Saheb to Panipat had such a large force advanced to that region. You were invested with full powers and asked to reduce the Jats and other rulers who had thrown off their allegiance to our government and to impress upon the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Abdali King that the Maratha rule had again been as vigorously restored in north India as before. Full confidence was reposed in your capacity and valour to achieve these objects, and thereby to bring in a plentiful supply of monetary contributions. The two experienced chiefs of the houses of Sindia and Holkar, the main props of our state, were purposely associated with you in your present undertaking".

The letter added, "It seems, however, that you have not all been working in full cooperation. Holkar and Sindia are openly at loggerheads and you two are not working in perfect unison either. Fortunately, you have obtained a grand victory over the Jat Raja, but in the end little substantial benefit has resulted from that victory. You have also also had consultations with Shujauddaulah, but have not succeeded in taking from him the possession of the two holy places, Benares and Prayag, a lognstanding claim which you should have obtained. Your dealings with the Rohillahs have yielded no better results, although the death of the wicked Najibuddaulah offered you a most favourable opportunity of obtaining satisfaction for all the past wrongs. You can now easily take the possession of Delhi and give the wazirship to Shuja and not to Ghaziuddin who has lost all credit. You must controb Najib's son Zabita Khan without doing him any harm of indignity. In fact, you have now a golden opportunity before you and you must turn it to the best advantage. This is possible only if you all act in perfect concert. You all well know how disunity and self-seeking have ruined our interests in the past. You must realize that each one's personal interest is best served by working for the united good of all. Rest assured that your master the Peshwa will amply reward your individual merit.[1]"

By this time the conflict among the Maratha Chiefs arose high. Ram Chandra Ganesh thought that all his power had gone into the hands of Visaji who was friently to Mahadji.

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[1] Aitihasik Sankirna Sahatya, Vol. 7, Bharat Itihasa Sanishodhak Mandala Quaterly, January - April, 1947, P. 42; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, PP. 511 - 512.

So on 27th January 1771 Ramchandra Ganesh decided to go back to Deccan with his containgent but after a compromise he was made ready to stay.[1] The Marathas now decided to capture Delhi under the joint leadership of Visaji Krishna and Mahadji Sindia.[2]

The Emperor Shah Alam who was living as a British pensioner at Allahabad was apprehensive lest he should delay his departure back to Delhi, the Marathas, Jats and Sikhs would put any other member of the royal family to the throne.[3]

At this time the Maratha army under Visaji Krishna, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia had regained the lost prestige in North India. Mahadji Sindia sent a secret letter to the Emperor offering to escort and restore him to Delhi.[4]

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 605, 607, 614.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 199; also Nos. 605, 607 says that it is reported that "the Marathas intend to write to Zabita Khan to set out for Shahjahauabad. They wish to establish either Ghaziuddin Khan or Ahmad Khan (or any body else who will give them money) at the capital".

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 370, 475, 630 says that the Marathas and Ghaziuddin are united and want to make Shahzada Jawan Bakht, the King.

4. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 2, Nos. 1007, 289; Hingne Daftar, Vol. 2, No. 76; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, P. 34.

Ultimately the Emperor asked the Marathas to help though he was very much in doubt as to their motives.[1]

On 27th December 1770, the Emperor sent his envoy Saifuddin Mohammad Khan to the Maratha camp. An agreement was concluded.[2] In January 1771, the Marathas marched from Farrukhabad arriving at Patpatganj on 5th February. On the 7th February Saifuddin Mohammad Khan left the Maratha camp for Delhi.

There he declared Shah Alam as the Emperor. The Emperor's mother Zeenat Mahal asked Qasim Ali, the qiladar of Zabita Khan, for not surrendering the fort. On 9th February, after a light bombardment, the Marathas compelled Qasim Ali to surrender the fort. On 10th February 1771, five thousand Maratha horse captured Delhi city and drove

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1. Caldnear of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 232, 370, New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, P. 514, "When the Maratha forces had encamped in Doab in 1770, Shujauddaulah visited Ramchandra Ganesh on behalf of the Emperor. On 10th August 1770 the Emperor himself wrote to Ramchandrapant, "we are glad to receive your assurance that the strictest harmony exists between you and our brother, the Vazir Shujauddaulah and your promise to out rival the Wazir and the English in serving the interest of our Empire. We have full faith in your loyality and attachment. If you act as profess, we will also work upon you as graciously. The Emperor wrote similar letters to other Maratha sardars and to the Peshwa showing his keenness to reach the capital under Maratha protection".

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 480, 538, 548, 232, 651, All these letters say that Shah Alam sent Saifuddin Mohammad Khan to check the plans of Ghaziuddin Khan; Seir Mutakherin, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. 4, P. 36 says that "Saifuddin Mohammad entered into an agreement with the Marathas by which the Marathas agreed to help the Emperor in fulfilling his interests. Munir-ud-daullah, the minister of the Emperor, the English and Shujauddaulah opposed Emperor's plan but the Emperor was not ready to stay for more time in

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out the troops of Zabita Khan.[1] Madhovrao Shivdev, a Maratha officer went into the fort and kept his own troops there.[2] Visaji Krishan was appointed collector of the districts around Delhi which were in Najib Khan's possession for a long time.[3] When the Peshwa came to know about this development, he communicated some instructions to his general in the north. "I quite appreciate the value of a performance which the English desisted from undertaking. I should, however, like to know what amount of money and territory the Emperor has given you. You have now been out there for three seasons.

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Allahabad"; *Tahmasp Nama*,(Eng. Tr.), P. 118 says that "the Emperor Shah Alam wrote to the Maratha Chief, Mahadji Sindia and Ramchandra Ganesh to take control of Delhi. Then he himself would march towards ~~the capital~~".

1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 89, 285, 283, 265, 266, The last two letters say that Visaji, Mahadji Sindia and other sardars captured Delhi including the fort and made the arrangements there; They will make the arrangement of the Emperor; *Calandar of Persian Correspondences* Vol. 3, Nos. 632, 649, 605, 655, 663; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 119; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 28 says that 'the Maratha sardars established their rule in Delhi fort and surrounding mahals of Khalsa and Privy Purse and posted their collectors in these places'.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 89; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 649 says "On 1st February the Maratha sardars took the Shahzadah to the place ofthe religious workship ofthe Moors, where he paid prayers. They attended his retinue, settled him on a cushion, presented him their nazr, professed their allegiance to His Majesty and ordered a sardar with 1,000 horse to attend upon his person in the fort. They then set out for Talcatorah".

3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 663 states that "the Marathas captured the fort and the city of Delhi and the Emperor's mather,children and members of Royal house of Timur . They demanded an amount of some lakhs by way of ransom from Emperor's mother. They appointed"their own officer whom Najib Khan had appointed", letter No. 665 affirms that peper of news dated 20th February 1771 was received to the

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The Emperor has attained his cherished object, but I don't see what you have gained. Our men have shed their blood, in return for which you must acquire money and territory proportionate to the sacrifice. Have you at least freed the holy places of Kashi and Prayag from Muslim control. You must likewise recover the cost of the troops employed and the debts our government have incurred in this venture. The English if they had been so minded, did certainly possess the strength to place the Emperor on his ancestral throne. But as their power is mainly based on sea, they declined to go a long way inland without a corresponding advantage. Now you must remember never to allow the English to make a lodgement at Delhi. If they once obtain a foothold, they can never be dislodged. Of all the European nations, the English are certainly the strongest. They have seized strategic points and have formed a ring a round the Indian continent, from Calcutta to South".[1]

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following effect. "The Marathas are appointing amils in the districts around the capital which belong to Nawab Zabitah Khan. They also intend to fight the Nawab. The Marathas have formed these resolutions. First, if Shah Alam pays the sums agreeably to his engagements, they will then appoint his son his successor. Secondly, they have written to Ghaziuddin Khan that if he pays the nazranah, they will appoint him Vazir and place another king whom he may choose on the throne. Thirdly, if Zabitah Khan pays a nazranah, they will restore to him the districts round the capital which were formerly in his possession, and the fort shall also rema in his hands", Seir-ul-Mutakherin (Eng. Tr.) Vol.IV, P. 38 says that the Marathas captured every district surrounding Delhi, Aitihasik Charitren, Part II, P.115 says that Visaji Krishna established Maratha amal upto Delhi and capture Delhi fort after defeating the enemy on 11th Feb.1771, Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 89.

1. Kaifiyats and Yadis, ed. Vad, Mowjee & Parasnis, P.189, New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, P. 515.

Now an agreement was effected between the Marathas and the Emperor through Jawan Bakht and Saifuddin Mohammad Khan. The Marathas were ready to escort the Emperor to Delhi with a Maratha force if they were given forty lakhs in cash, some Mahals including Meerut and the cession of the districts of Kara and Kora. The right of appointment of all the Imperial officers below the rank of Vazir was also to be vested on the Maratha Chiefs. The Maratha Chiefs could take half the nazar given by newly appointed officers.[1]

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[1] Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXI., No. 39 says that "Saifuddin made an agreement. He was ready to give forty lakhs. He was ready to give eight mahals including Meerdt. The Emperor was to be brought within two months. Kora and Kara were to be evacuated. If it was not possible then the territory near Delhi was to be given. After taking forty lakhs immediately the amal of the city will be given. If ten lakh rupees will be given within ten days, the fort will be evacuated. Then the Emperor would come. After his arrival the captured mahals should be evacuated and tribute of fifteen lakhs should be given. The rest fifteen lakhs would be given, after seven months. Such an agreement was made under the seal of heir apparent (Jawan Bakht). Ten lakhs were to be given immediately out of that the hundis of two lakhs were sent by the Emperor from Allahabad". Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.3, Nos. 695, 717, 828, 888, 895, 720, 987, No. 695 tells about the demands of the Marathas signed by Jawan Bakht through Saifuddin Mohammad Khan'. "when the fort and the country of Shahjahanabad are made over to His Majesty, the sum of ten lakhs of rupees will be issued from the royal presence in 8 days... Agreeably to the demand the sum of 15 lakhs of rupees shall be paid upon the arrival of His Magesty to the capital, but should he not come, the amount will be paid after deducting the revenues of the districts (dependent of Shahjahanabad). A new sanad is to be granted to the Marathas for Meerut and other districts according to former custom.... The Marathas are to be permitted to observe all other customs as before excepting the Vizirat all other appointments such as those of Bakhshi etc. are to be made by the Marathas and whatever peshhash etc. are settled will have to be divided equally among the King and the Marathas". No. 717 says that the agreement was made between Shah Alam and the Marathas through Saifuddin Mohammad Khan. The conditions are that the Marathas will give His Majesty the fort and country of Delhi and the adjoining districts which were in Zabita Khan's possession. On getting Rs. 40 lakhs from the Emperor. Out of this sum 10 lakhs

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On August the Marathas handed over Delhi Fort to Saifuddin Mohammad Khan on part payment of the promised sum.[1]

The English tried their best that the Emperor should not go into the hands of the Marathas. They wanted to form an alliance with Shuja-ud-daullah, Rohillahs and Jats against the Marathas.[2] But this plan could not be materialized. When

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were to be paid in twenty days and 15 lakhs in two months. The Marathas have vacated Delhi but the fort is still under their control"; Aitihasik Charitren, Vol. 4, P. 111; Seir Mutaqherni (Eng. Tr.) Vol. 11, P. 35; Persian Records of History, Vol. 1. P. 23 says that "Shahalam had promised that when his rule will be established in Delhi fort and in the mahals around by the Marathas he would pay a nazrana of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Peshwa". P. 35 says that the Emperor sent the hundies for two lakhs rupees to Saifuddin Khan to pay the first instalment to the Marathas for evacuating Delhi fort.

1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos 895, 717; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P. 28; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 89, The writer says that "on 27th Zilhej the Emperor marched from Prayag for Delhi. The amal of Delhi city was given to ~~Sha~~ Saifuddin Mohammad Khan according to the agreement. Madhavrao Shivdev is there from earlier. After receiving ten lakhs the fort would be given".

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 647, 658, 204, 314, 329, 370, 393, 503, 504, 508, 686, 693, 1039, Vol. 2, Nos. 1400, 1467. All these letters tell that a number of letters were written to the Emperor by the English against the Marathas, Seir Mutaqerin, (Eng. Tr.)Vol. 4, PP. 36, 38 says that the Marathas thought that by helping Shah Alam they would establish their lost power and prestige in Hindustan.

the Emperor did not change his opinion, the English decided neither to help nor to hinder the path of the Emperor.[1]

In April 1771, the Emperor marched from Allahabad. On his arrival at Farrukhabad, the Emperor demanded tribute from the son and successor or Ahmad Khan Bangesh who had died shortly. The Bangash Chief minister tried to oppose the Emperor. The Emperor took the help of Mahadji Sindia who marched with a large army. The Bangash Chief Minister agreed to pay tribute to the Emperor. Shah Alam encamped at Nabiganj. In November they marched for Delhi and reached there on 8th January 1772.[2]

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 698; *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. 3 P. 36, says that Muniruddaulah, the minister of the Emperor, the English and Shujauddaulah opposed Emperor's plan, but the Emperor was not ready to live for more time in Allahabad; *Pers-ian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 35 says that the English and Shujauddulah accompained the Emperor till Jajmau; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, Nos. 810, 812.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 89, PP 317-321; *Aitihasik Charitren*, Vol. IV, P. 113, *Hingne Daftar*, Vol. 2, No. 76 says that 'the Emperor marchedfrom Farrukhabad went to Nabiganj and has encamped there. The matter of Muzzafargang was finished. He came to meet on the day of departure', *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.3, Nos. 695, 677, 812, 828, 888, 895, 987. Letter No. 888 says that 'the Emperor settled the matter of Ahmad Khans son for six lakhs of rupees, half to be paid in specie and half in effects'; *Tahmasp Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), P. 119; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 39 says that Muzzaffarjang the son of Ahmad Khan Bangash, gave a peshkash of seven lakhs of rupees to the Emperor; *Seir Mutaqkhrin* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. 4, PP. 37-38; *Aitihasik Tipne*, Part I, pp. 78-79, *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam*, Munna lal, (Eng. Tr.) Jadunath Sarkar, Maharashtra Archieves Bulletin of the Department of Archives, No. 5, ed. V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay, 1970, P. 7.

The capture of Delhi by the Marathas was very much appreciated at the Poona Court. Visaji and Sindia were given the credit of this great feat of valour, diplomacy and success. The Peshwa issued an order by which he appointed Visaji Krishna the Commander of Hindustan forces in place of Ramchandra Ganesh.[1] This order reached Delhi on 26th April 1771. Ramchandra Ganesh marched from Delhi for Deccan but Sindia and Holkar recalled him.[2]

Now Sindia and Holkar joined Ramchandra Ganesh. They wanted to make Ramchandra Ganesh the commander of Maratha army. Visaji remained alone but he condinued to retain his

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[1] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 810; Aitihasik Charitren, Part II, P. 115-116; Raifivats and Yadis, P. 159. The Peshwa wrote to his generals in the north about the money and territory given to them by the Emperor after completing their aim. He asked them to get money and territory from the Emperor in proportion to the sacrifice of Maratha people. He told them to take the places of Kashi and Prayag from Muslim hands and to collect the cost of the troops engaged and the money to pay the debts.

[2] Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. 1, No. 59, says that "Ramchandra Gangash became angry and went to Newai. Tukoji and Mahadji brought him back. Now the three sardars are at one place. After that Visaji Krishna Vinewale marched from the force being angry"; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 810, Dated 30 June 1771, says that 'On 20 May Ramchandra Ganesh whom Raja Madhorao had suspended from the command of his forces received a letter from Visaji Pandit advising him, if he approves of the Raja's plan of setting out for the Deccan, to go with him, Otherwise,he is expected to return to the Pandit, who will give him the charge of the baggage and implements of war and himself set out for the Deccan. Says that having despatched this letter the Pandit encamped on the other side of Ghaziuddin Nagar facing Seetarpore (Shilarpore). Takoji Holkar with 6,000 and Mahadji Sindia with 5,000 horse set out for Pulwa to bring back Ramchandra Ganesh. They accordingly brought him back, but enmity still subsists between

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control over Delhi. The agent of Peshwa wrote from the camp of Visaji - "Our domestic dissensions have been made manifest to the public. Visaji has broken with both the Marathas caste-sardars and has gone leaving the control of Delhi. His hatred towards them due to Ramchandra is destroying our plans. People are saying that without the support of these two Maratha caste Sardars, Visaji cannot succeed in any of his action.[1]

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Visaji Pandit, Ramchandra Ganash and Takoji Holkar. They have not yet evacuated the fort of Shahjahanabad and its neighbouring districts.

[1] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 269, also Nos. 265, 266, 272, 288; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, Nos. 810, 812, 823 says that "the Maratha have not given Delhi fort to the Government due to difference among themselves", No. 812 dated 5 July 1771 says that "..... As to the Maratha sardars they are devided by internal feuds. Takoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia have joined forces and want Ramchandra Ganesh to have the command ofthe army again; but Visaji Pandit will not consent to this and his deputy acting under his sole orders is in possession of the fort. In order to guard the fort and to prevent to other dardars from occupying it, he has pitched his tents by the side of the river and keeps a vigilant watch over the Qalahadar. Saifuddin Mohammad Khan negotiated in vain with the Marathas for the evacuation of the fort. Having failed to come to any terms on account of their private quarrels he did not return to His Majesty's court. Patel Saheb has consented to evacuate the fort, while Takoji Holkar desires to form an alliance with the Rohillas. Visaji Pandit on the other hand opposes both these schemes and says that he proposes to act with complete independence. The correspondence of the Pandit and Ram chandra Ganesh has been transmitted to Madho Rao and answer is expected. The Marahattas are encamped on the other side of the Jamuna river in the town of Shahjahanabad. Consequently, each sardar has selected a large house for his residence and is removing his baggage and artillery across the Jamuna. This has greatly increased the price of grain"; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 269 says that "Tukoji and Sindia brought back Ramchandra Ganesh. So Visaji became angry and reached at 7-8 kos distance from Delhi at Hindan river marching from Delhi with huzrat troops".

Visaji Krishna again informed the Peshwa about the voilation of his order by Sindia and Holkar. The Peshwa again sent the same order recalling Ramchandra Ganesh. Ultimately, in September 1771, Ramchandra Ganesh marched from Delhi for Deccan.[1]

Now, Visaji Krishna was the unrivalled leader of Maratha forces in the north but he was unable to control Sindia and Holkar in the national interest. Each of them followed that policy which was for his own interest. Mahadji Sindia received the confidence of the Emperor, on the other hand, Holkar disliked Shah Alam and was in favour of Zabita Khan. Visaji Krishna wanted to establish his own authority over the region north of Delhi. No body cared for the national interest.[2]

When Shah Alam returned to Delhi, Zabita Khan the son of Najib Khan, neither came to meet the Emperor nor paid the

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1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 272 says that the Peshwa first letter that Ramchandra Ganesh was under Visaji Krishna reached Delhi on 26th April; As it created tussel, another letter recalling Ramchandra Ganesh to Deccan reached Maratha camp on 28th June. Again when the Peshwa was informed about the efforts of Maratha Sardars to keep Ramchandra Ganesh in north, he confirmed his previous order on Ist August.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, P. 24; Tahmasp Nama (Eng. Tr.) P. 118.

tribute.[1] The Emperor sent a farman to Zabita Khan calling him but Zabita Khan remained busy in the collection of troops and preparation for fighting. So the Emperor wanted to punish him by sending an expedition.[2]

The imperial force under Najaf Khan and a Maratha force under Visaji Krishna, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia went into Doab. The Emperor also marched from Delhi. All the treasure and families of Rohillah Chiefs were stored in a stone fort of Pathargarh. Zabita Khan was himself at Shukartal with four thousand troops and he posted the rest of his army along the eastern bank of Ganges from Shukartal to Hardwar. The Imperial and the Maratha force attacked the troops of Zabita Khan at Chandighat, which was at about twelve kos distance from Shukartal, on 23rd February 1772 and won the victory. Zabita Khan took flight into the Tarai hills with other Afghans chiefs as Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundi Khan.

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1. Tarikh-i-Shah Alam, (Eng. Tr.) P. 7; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P. 55 says that "Zabita Khan sent his agents Shyamlal to offer nazar and nisar for Id but no agreement could be made due to heavy demand for tribute and surrender of guns"; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, Nos. 987, 997 says that the business upon which Abdul Ahad Khan and Shyam Lal Munshi have been deputed to the Emperor by Zabita Khan has not yet been decided.

2. Tarikh-i- Shah Alm, (Eng. Tr.) P. 7.

Now the Marathas besieged Pathargarh and after the siege of fourteen days they captured the fort on 16th March 1772.[1]

The Marathas and Najaf Khan went into the fort of Pathargarh.[2] The Marathas spent twenty days in collecting the property which they found in Pathargarh and in digging

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1. Ibrat Nama, Faqir Khair-ud-din Muhammad Illahabadi (Eng. Tr.), Jadunath Sarkar, Maharashtra Archives Bulletin of the Department of Archives, No. 2, ed. P.M. Joshi V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay, 1966, PP. 1-2, says that many noble Afghan families took the refuge in the emperors camp examing from the Maratha after many hardships .... Najaf Khan gave them refirge and provided their necessaries and afterwards sent them to the hills of Hardwar when other Afghans had taken shelter", Tarikh-i-Shah Alam, (Eng. Tr.) PP. 7-8, says that the Emperor at once ordered Visaji to capture Pathargarh so that the money and property of Zabita Khan should not be removed from the fort. The forces were strictly ordered to respect the women of Zabita Khan in the fort; Tahmasp Nama, (Eng. Tr.), pp. 119-22; Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 277, completed by Nos. 270, 276, 283, 285, Seir Mutagherin (Eng. Tr.), Vol. IV, P. 38, Aitihasik Charitren, Vol. 2, P. 113; Pethe Daftar, Vol. 1, ed. V.V. Chitale, year 1948 No. 69 says that "the Maratha forces under Tukoji and Mahadji Sindia went to Pathargarh crossing the ganges to fighting. Pathargarh was captured and Rohillahs were defeated"; Persian Records of Maratha History; Vol. 1, P. 58, P. 30 says that Zabita Khan took refuge in Shukartal with the fear of Maratha generals; History of Rohillah Afghans, PP. 173-174, the writer says that "Zabita Khan fled towards the hills leaving his family and valuable goods in the fort of Pathargarh which the Maratha attacked and captured"; Caldndar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 3, No. 690 says that Zabita Khan has encamped at Shukartal and the Maratha are planning to attack him.

2. Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.) P. 8

out the buried treasure.[1] The Maratha Sardars captured all the artillery and treasures of Zabita Khan including his horses, elephants and other property and offered to give a very small portion to the Emperor.[2] "The total cost of all kind of silver, gold and the coins was ten lakhs of rupees. In all 2298 horses were captured out of which only 1043 horses were given to the Emperor.[3] Three large camons, two fizails, seven zamburakhs, 1342 cannon balls, hundred rockets and 530 maunds of powder have taken in possession.[3] Now a conflict arose between the Marathas and the Emperor for sharing the spoils. Ultimately on 11th May an agreement was concluded through the mediation of Mahadji Sindia. Of the loot from Pathargarh one hald share was to be given to the Emperor, one fourth to the Peshwa and the remaining one-fourth was to be distributed among the Maratha Sardars, but the elephants, cash and jewels were not divided but fell to the share of the Marathas. The Emperor demand money and he was promised two lakhs of rupees.[4]

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1. Ibrat Nama, (Eng. Tr.) P. 4 says that "the Marathas burnt the whole territory of Zabita Khan except the city of Amroha. There a few thousand sayyid natives faced the Marathas and kept them out when Maratha sardars asked for contribution Sayyids went under the protection of Najaf Khan. He decided the contribution for Rs. 80,000 and gave the Maratha Sardars his personal security for that amount.

2. Tarikh-i Shah Alam(Eng. Tr.) P. 8; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, p. 59 says that 'Dado Malhar, the agent of Visaj agreed to pay two lakhs of rupees to the Emperor found in Pathargarh and according to it Visaji paid two lakhs to the Emperor; Ibrat Nama (Eng. Tr.), p. 6.

3. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXIX, PP. 337-340,343.

4. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol.XXIX, Nos. 270,283, PP. 337-340,343; Persian Record of Maratha History, Vol.1, P.59 says that "Dado Malhar, the agent of Visaji agreed to pay two lakhs of rupees to the Emperor from the property seized Pathargarh and according to it Visaji paid two lakhs to the Emperor".

Now the Marathas returned towards Delhi with the Emperor. The Emperor crossed the Ganges with Najaf Khan but Ramchandra Ganesh, Visaji and other Maratha chiefs crossed the Ganges and they went towards Khurja, Shikarpur with the Emperor's permission, in order to regulate the mahals and collect the tribute from the other Afghans.[1]

Now Zabita Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan went to Shujauddaulah and started negotiations with the Marathas through his medium. Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundi Khan agreed to pay forty lakhs to the Marathas. Shujauddaulah took the security for it. The Marathas left Rohilkhand. Again by a separate agreement with Zabita Khan, his hereditary estates of Najibabad and Saharanpur were given back to him. The wives and children of Zabita Khan were also set free from Captivity.[2]

Mahadji Sindia refused to approve of these terms and a violent quarrel with Visaji started. The Marathas failed to collect any money and their arrangement could not prove a success[3]

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1. Ibrat Nama (Eng. Tr.) p. 4

2. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 276; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 60; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, pp. 60-61; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, pp. 41-42.

3. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XXIX, No. 276, The writer says that 'It seems that all our political arrangements which had begun to mature in certain places, will be thrown into confusion. Our leaders are not unanimous. Every one works according to his will...... No body is paying pice of the promised money. Our troops are eager to go back to their homes"; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 1, P. 60.

Visaji and Tukoji Holkar urged the Emperor to go to Allahabad to collect the old tribute of Bengal and Bihar from the English and to compel Shujauddaulah to pay the revenue but the Emperor refused because he had already seen the Maratha faithlessness in the division of the spoils of Pathargarh.

Mahadji Sindia secretly advised the Emperor to return to Delhi.[1] The Marathas and the Imperial army began their return journey from Rohilkahand in May 1772.[2]

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1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, No. 271-276; also PP. 376-328; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.) pp. 8-9. The writer says that the Emperor refused because the Marathas did not give him proper share in the spoils of Pathargarh; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 122; *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.) P. 4; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 1, P. 59 tells about the secret engagement between Shujauddaulah and the Marathas, *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. Iv, P. 39 says that 'the Marathas after plundering and destroying Zabita Khan's country returned to Delhi. They were not happy by the price given to them for their past services so they created disturbances'.

2. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 271 - 276 also pp. 326 - 328; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), PP. 8-9; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.), P. 122 says that 'Pathargarh was left by the Imperial forces after two months. Then they marched towards Moradabad. The Maratha army marched towards Khurja'; *Ibrta Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 4.

When the Emperor Shah Alam reached Delhi, the Marathas demanded the payment of money, which the Emperor had promised them before his restoration. The Marathas knew that the Emperor could not give them money. So Tukoji Holkar and Visaji Krishna advised the Emperor to give the offices of Mir Bakshi to Zabita Khan who could fulfil his needs. Zabita Khan was ready to pay ten and a half lakhs of rupees if the Mara-thas would be able to secure to him his father's office. Mahadji Sindia did not want to support the interests of Zabita Khan. The Emperor also refused to appoint Zabita Khan as Mir Bakshi. The Marathas under Tukoji Holkar and Visaji Krishna made an attack on Delhi on 17th December 1772 and compelled the Emperor to surrender. The Emperor gave pardon to Zabita Khan appointed him Amir-ul-Umara and restored Saharanpur district to him. The Marathas received an Imperial Sanad for Kora and Jahanabad.[1]

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1. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 9-10; *Ibrat Nama* (Eng. Tr.) pp. 6 - 8; *Persian Records of Maratha History* Vol. 1, pp. 63-64 says that the Marathas has to receive eight lakhs from Zabita Khan and they hadto give him all the territory except a few parganas which they kept in their hands; *Tahmasp Nama*, P. 123; *Calendar of Persian correspondence, Vol*. IV, Nos. 138, 142; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3, Pp. 44-52; *Memoir of Rene Medec*, Tr. of the Pers. Manuscript, Bengal, *Past and Present*, Vol. LV, January - June 1938, (Eng. Tr.) Jadunath Sarkar; pp. 1-5 says that "the Marathas compelled the Emperor Shah Alam to accept the following terms:

   (a) That the Emperor should not keep troops in excess of what was necessary to him to guard himself.

   (b) That he should restore to the Jats the country which they possessed before,

   (c) That he should not draw any revenue from Hindustan,

   (d) That the Nawab Zabita Khan Ruhela should be recognised as Inspector General (i.e., Mir Bakhshi) and that he should be again put in possession of the territory which

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The Peshwa came to know about the successes of Maratha Sardars in the north in May 1772 at Poona and was elated. It was greatly comforting to the Peshwa to feel that he had been successful in retracing the Maratha prestige lost by the dishonour of Panipat battle and to re-establish the Maratha power so firmly which became an envy to the achievements of the three former Peshwas whose efforts were not highly crowned with success. Zabita Khan was the only disturbing element in the territory of Delhi. The Emperor had his own selfish objectives. He did not want that Zabita Khan should be crushed. Shah Alam was a faithless person who continued to pose problems to Mahadji Sindia. Mahadji Sindia made his best efforts to secure the life and honour of Shah Alam under difficult situations. Shujauddaulah was also not happy with the rise of the Marathas. He did not help the Marathas in resisting British attacks but proved to be the main Indian power ih establishing British supremacy in India.

The Maratha camp was always divided in conusel during the important wxneditions. There was no powerful control and order of a master on the spot. All the Sardars had

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the Emperor in conjunction with the Marathas had conquered from him in the preceding compaign,

(e) That the monarch should pay a sum of (blank in the original) to the Marathas for the expenses of the war, and

(d) That he should cede to them the province of Kora Jahanabad, and finally gave them full power to collect in his name all the revenues of the expense of country under obedience to him".

different views in the matters of war and policy. Holkar always protected the Rohillah chief and was jealous of Mahadji Sindia. Only Visaji Krishna through his sensible and conciliatary attitude caould be able to save the situation.[1] He made friendship with Zabita Khan and handed back his family to him on payment of tribute. The Emperor continued to practice his faithlessness and secretly arranged for an attack on the Maratha camp at Delhi on 16th December 1772. The attack proved a failure and could not leave any effect and the Emperor was compelled to submit.[2]

But before the settlement of the Imperial administration at Delhi and in the north in the normal manner, the Peshwa Madhavrao died at Poona on 18 November, 1772.[3]

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, 1770- 1774, ed. V.V. Khare, Kolhapur, 1901, PP. 1905, 1896.

[2] *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), PP. 6 - 9 ; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.) pp. 9 - 11; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 4, P. 1951.

[3] *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 219, 280, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, No. 544, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, PP. 516 - 517.

RAMGHAT EXPEDITION

The Marathas sent Dado Malhar to invite Najaf Khan to their camp.[1] On 20th January 1773 Najaf Khan went to meet. Tukoji Holkar and Visaji. The Marathas established friendly relations with him.[2] He agreed to their proposal to accompany then on a pay of Rs. 3000 as the daily allowance.[3]

The Maratha Sardars took the leave of the Emperor and marched towards the country of the Rohillahs and Shujauddullah beyond the Ganges.[4] The aim of the Marathas was to get the

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[1] *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), P. 10; *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), P. 8 says that Sultanji Lambhate and Babuji Hari were sent as envoys to Najaf Khan; *Memoir of Rene Madec*, *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. LV, January to June 1938, P. 5 (Eng. Tr.), pp. 8-9.

[2] *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.) p. 10; *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.) PP 8-9; *Tahmasp Nama*, P. 124 says that the Marathas wanted that Najaf Khan should join them in their move against Shujauddaulah in January 1773; *Bengal, Past and Present*, January - June, 1938, P. 5.

[3] *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, P. 348; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), PP. 10-11 has given the amount 5000 per day; *Bengal, Past and Present*, January-June 1938, P.5; *Ibrat Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 9, *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 124 says that the Maratha sardard agreed to pay Najaf Khan Rs. 3000 daily as the pay for his contingent.

[4] *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.) PP. 10-11; *Ibrat Nama* (Eng. Tr.), PP. 9-10; *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 124 says that Najaf Khan and the Marathas marched towards Ramghat on 2nd February 1773; *Soldiering in India*, 1764-1784 W.C. Macpherson, Edinburg, 1927, PP. 118-130; *Imperial Record* Department, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1772-1775, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1925, No. 60.

the control of the districts of Kora and Allahabad according to the Imperial Sanad granted to them.[1] The Marathas had sent vakils to the Nawab of Oudh asking to evacuate and deliver possession of the lands to the Marathas under the name of the Emperor as these lands were held by Shujauddaulah since 1765. They also demanded from the Trans-Gangetic. Rohillas, especially Hafiz Rahmat Khan to pay the indemnity of 40 lakhs promised of him in January 1771.[2]

In the beginning the Marathas wanted to avoid war. Mahadji Sindia had already detached himself with his ten thousand men before the Maratha attack on Delhi. Another detachment of 5000 was sent to Jhansi under Shivaji Vithal to suppress the revolt started by the Gosains and local sardars against Maratha authority. Only a force of thirty thousand men was left which was divided between Visaji and Tukoji Holkar.[3] Tukoji Holkar wanted to make a sudden attack

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1. *Aitihasik Charitran*, Part 11, P. 119; *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. LV, January - June 1938, P. 4; *History of the Rohilla Afghans*, P. 135; Calendar of *Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 59, *Proceeding of Select Secret Committee*, from 15th Feb. to 4th Oct. 1773, PP. 54,71,60.

2. *History of the Rohilla Afghans*; P.185; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 59; *Fall of the Mughal Emperor*, Vol. 3, P. 54.

3. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1951 says, "Among the Maratha Sardars Mahadji Sindia had already gone to Rajputana from Delhi. Only Holkar and Visaji were in Delhi, P. 1953, *Bengal, Past and Present*, Jan. - June, 1938, P.6; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 225 says that "Mahadji Sindia was left for Jaipur with 10,000 troops and Shivaji with 5000 horse returned to Gwalior. The remaining army under leadership of Visaji and Tukoji is so disputated that they have thought several times to return to Deccan".

on Faizabad and captured it within a few days. But Visaji knew the fact that his allies Zabita Khan and Najaf Khan were in secret correspondence with Shujauddaulah and they assured him that they were the enemies of the Marathas and would join the Nawab of Oudh, in case of battle between the two sides. Even Rene Medec wanted to join the services of Shujauddaulah. So Visaji never wanted to start a war.[1]

Since the time the Marathas had left Rohilkhand in May 1772, all the Indian powers knew that the Marathas would come back to collect their tribute during the winter season. The Sanads for Kora and Allahabad districts had been formally given to the Marathas but Shujauddaulah did not want to give up these places. Since that time he was asking the British at Calcutta to send a British force for the defence ofthese districts in case the Marathas come there. The governor had given him assurance for help.[2]

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, Nos. 172, 183.

[2] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, No. 1252, P. 1976 says that "Shujauddaulah and the English have been united and encamped. The troops of Visaji and Tukoji Holkar have encamped across the Yamuna. There is a rumour of a battle between their forces"; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, Nos. 59, 60 say that the Marathas are demanding the surrender of Kora, Allahabad and Benares; Nos. 84, 169, 178; *Proceeding of Secret Select Committee* from 15th February to 4th October, 1773, PP. 71; *Proceeding of Secret Select Committee*, 20th June to 28th December, 1774, PP. 140-141.

Zabita Khan had also joined the Maratha Sardars and promised to help them in their compaign in Rohilkhand.[1] The allied forces crossed the Doab immediately and reached Ramghat on the western bank of the river Ganges.

Tukoji Halkar with his fifteen thousand light horse and Najaf Khan crossed the Ganges. Visaji Sindia with his army remained in the village of Phelon, two miles west of the ghat, with his camp, heavy baggage and the spoils which the Marathas had collected during their three years' compaigns in the north.[2]

Tukoji Holkar had crossed the Ganges with his army. Ahmad Khan, who was the Bakhshi of Ali Mohammad Khan, had marched to a distance of ten kos ahead of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. He was defeated and captured by the Marathas.[3]

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[1] *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee*, 28th April 1772 to 10th December 1773, P. XVII; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 178 says that the Rohillas have joined the Marathas also No. 224; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee* from 15 Feb. to 4th Oct. 1773, P. 61 says that Zabita Khan first joined the Marathas and Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent the holi Quran to the Marathas as a token of friendship. He also gave them five lakhs of rupees and established friendship and good understanding with them.

[2] *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.) PP. 10-11; *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.) PP. 10-11 says that the Maratha chiefs decided that Tukoji Holkar should cross the ganges with 20,000 horse and attack the Afghans territory and Visaji should be ready with the rest of the army and artillery on the bank of the Ganges.

[3] *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) P. 125; *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.) PP. 10-11; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1952.

In the meantime the Marathas heard the news that the Afghans and Shujauddaulah had entered into an agreement. Hafiz Rahmat Khan had promised to pay Rs. 40 lakhs to Shujauddaulah and the forces of Shujauddaulah were likely to reach the next day.[1] Shujauddaulah immediately marched with his cavalry and British forces and reached near Moradabad during March 20 to 25, 1773. When Tukoji Holkar heard the news of their arrival, he raised the seige and within a few days, the Marathas plundered Sambhal and Moradabad.[2] When Tukoji Holkar had plundered Moradabad. Shujauddaulah was close to Ramghat with his force. Hafiz Rahmat Khan found himself helpless and called Shujauddaulah from Ramghat for his help. Shujauddaulah immediately marched with his cavalry

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1. *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), PP. 9-10; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* Vol. IV, P. 1952-1953; *Tahmasp Nama*, (Eng. Tr.) P. 125; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, Nos. 251 224, The letter says that the Marathas sent their confidents to Hafiz Rahmat Khan with a idea to secure his alliance with them. Shujauddaulah tried to prevent Hafiz Rahmat Khan from helping the Marathas and to side with him; *Proceeding of Secret Select Committee* from 15th Feb. to 4th Oct, 1773, PP. 60, 150; 475, 481; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee*, 1772 - 1773, P. XV; *History of the Rohila Afghans*, Appendix, Nos. 1, 11, PP. 289 - 292.

2. *Tahmasp Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), P. 125; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.) PP. 10 - 11 says that on 21st March Visaji Tukoji and Najaf Khan crossed the Ganges and plundered Moradabad, Bareilly and the other territories of the Afghans; *Ibrat Nama* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. 1, P. 225; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 195, 1954; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* , Vol. V, Nos. 251, 481; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee*, from 15th Feb. to 4th Oct. 1773 P. 60.

and British forces leaving his eunuch Mahmud Ali Khan with a small force on this side of the river opposite the Marathas and reached near Moradabad, Tukoji asked Najaf Khan who advised him to go back to the Peshwa in immediately. Tukoji came back towards Ramghat and Anup-Shahr.[1]

When Shujauddaulah heard to Tukoji's return towards Ramghat, he came to Ramghat with General Barker. When the Marathas learnt of the surprise march, they soon marched without any halt to Khurja Shikarpur from their camp.[2] After a few days the Marathas started their march towards Deccan in May 1773 by way of Kakpi and Etawa.[3] Zabita Khan also took leave of the Marathas.[4]

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1. *Ibrat Nama* (Eng. Tr.), PP. 10-11 says that Visaji attacked Mahbub Ali Khan. The Marathas wanted to ford the river with all their force, but Mahbub Ali Khan prevented them with the help of heavy guns and troops; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 1, P. 57; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV PP. 152-1954 says that the Marathas decided to go back to Delhi. Visaji marched towards Delhi. Holkar also left Moradabad and crossing the Ganges he reached Delhi; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 245; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee* from 15th Feb. to 4th Oct. 1773 P. 61.

2. *Ibrat Nama*, (Eng. Tr.), P. 11; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, P. 1953; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 245.

3. *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.) PP. 125-126; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), PP. 10-11; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. IV, Nos. 473, 569; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV PP. 1958-1959. When strict orders from Poona for the recall were seperatedly sent, Holkar and Viniwale (Visaji) came back to Deccan leaving Delhi; *Proceeding of Secret Select Committee* from 15th Feb. to 4th Oct. 1773, PP. 60-61.

4. *Tahmasp Nama* (Eng. Tr.), P. 126.

Though the Maratha Sardars had to face a number of problems in the South and a number of enemies in the north, they recaptured Malwa and Bundelkhand, collected the tribute from the leading Rajput princes. They crushed the Jats and the Rohillas and finally occupied Delhi and put the Emperor on his ancestral throne. The Maratha Sardars were pre-occupied with their own interests and mutual jealousies which hampered their progress in attaining greater victories. The Peshwa Madhavrao was not present himself in the north to maintain the unity among the members who were eivided against themselves. Even after the death of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, the Maratha Sardars remained in the north to consolidate their position by new conquests and arrangements but domestic problems which ultimately culminated in the murder of the Peshwa Narayanrao compelled them to go back to the Deccan in 1773.

During the short span of his life the Peshwa Madhavrao had seen that the Marathas had achieved a number of great conquests in the north and Haider Ali was also defeated though not crushed in the summer of 1772. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was brought under the protection ofthe Marathas early in 1772 and put to the Imperial throne at Delhi against the British ambitions. He showed the world that the Battle of Panipat of 1761 had not decided things finally. The different members of the Maratha confederacy were completely brought under the Peshwa's control and firm loyalty during that period.

The Peshwa also kept a check on his Uncle Raghunathrao and controlled the factions spirit and recalcitrant attitude of numerous Sardars and high personages in the realm.[1]

Madhavrao possessed the Statesmanship of Balaji Vishwanath, courage of Bajirao and a rigorous attitude which even his father did not possess. He avenged the dishonour which the Maratha nation had suffered on account of their defeat at the Battle of Panipat and led the Maratha nation to such a glorious path that it has been aptly remarked that the early death of the young Peshwa Madhavrao was more fatal to the Maratha state than the defeat at Panipat.

After the death of three important members of the Peshwa family, that is, Sadashivrao Bhau, Vishwasrao and Balaji Bajirao in the battle of Panipat, it was generally believed that Maratha state would soon come to an end. But within a very short time Madhavrao I employed a galaxy of highly competent leaders in the places of those who were killed in the battle of Panipat and the Maratha State reached the appex of its glory. Had Madhavrao lived longer, the dream o a stable enduring and well founded Maratha Empire would have become a reality on the lines drawn by ideals endeared to an the high concepts cherished by the genius of Shivaji, Bajirao and other Kindred spirits.[1]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, PP. 555 - 556.

The supremacy of the Marathas never intended the destruction of the Muslim or other religious, linguistic, ethnic or regional groups of people but the Marathas, conscious of their formidable power and all comprehending role had a grandiose plan of policing and patrolling the national frontiers of India and allowing multifarious regional nationalities to proper under their guiding care. They did not aim to supplant the Mughal Empire or to intimidate the Emperor or injure his susceptibilities but to pay homage to him and guide the destinies of his Empire. They did not suppress the Mughal Emperor of Delhi but they assisted him in recapturing his lost throne and in maintaining his rights and authority. They simply wanted to guide him in political matters.[2]

Since the days of Raja Shahu, the Maratha State did not develop as a strong military government but it was a confederation of states which were loosely kept together under the Central control. In this confederacy of states, the rights, duties and responsibilities of jagirdars were were never clearly defined or strictly regulated. The Peshwa found that the jagirdars either openly challenged the Central authority or joined the enemies of the state. The Peshwa punished such jagirdars and created solidarity and unity in the state. Even the Britishers were sore at the rising power of the Marathas which is amply demonstrated by the following remark. On March 10, 1771, Madras Council wrote - "From the Present Conduct of the Marathas both in the north and in the south and from the genius, spirit and ambition of Madhavrao, we are inclined to suspect that there designs are not confined to the mere collection of Chauth but extend to the subjugation of the whole penisula"[1].

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 4, P. 1958; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, PP. 560 - 561.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 11, PP. 560 - 562.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 11, PP. 547 - 548,

CHAPTER - VI

THE PERIOD OF CRISIS AND TURMOIL, 1772 - 1783. THE MARATHA POLICY IN DOLDRUMS

The untimely and tragic death of Peshwa Madhavrao I on November 18, 1772[1] was another calamity that befell the Maratha nation. He was the last great scion of the illustrious line of succession of pre-eminent incumbents of that exalted office. He was successful at home and outside and had combined in himself the unique qualities of leadership, the sagacity of a statesman who could control recalcitrant Sardars, reconcile their tacit claims and ambitious and pacify his self-seeking uncle, Raghunath Rao. He could utilise the services of all of them to the ultimate end of boosting Maratha prestige and impress upon the various power-groups and states in the North that the Marathas were still the supreme factor in Indian politics, notwithstanding the catastrophic set-back of Panipat in 1761.

But the death of that great Peshwa, Madhavrao I signalled the emergence of the forces of decline and the contrifugal tendencies among the Maratha Sardars. The varying fortunes of the Maratha State, its changed character and outlook and its involvement with the rising British power sapped its vitality and strength during the ensuing thirty years. This gave a free scope to the ambitious Maratha Sardars, Sindhias, Holkars, Bhosles, Gaikwads and others to disregard the writ of the Poona Government and seek self-indulgence and satisfy personal vanity. They fell piecemeal to the well-organised British power. They faced their enemies pell-mell and bewildered as they had lost their unity, solidarity and invincible strength. All this ultimately led to the loss of their independence and caused irreparable damage to their national pride, self-complacency, undaunted advance and self-growth.

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[1] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, 1770 to 1774, ed. V.V. Khare, Kolhapur, 1901, p. 1895.

On the death of Peshwa Madhavrao I[1] the Maratha State was breft of a potential head. Though the seat of the Peshwa never remained vacant but the Peshwa was either immature or a fugitive from his capital and country. He was unable to defend himself in an endless civil war. The result was that the real power in the administration passed into the hands of a powerful minister or a board of ministers. But even a dictatorial minister cannot serve the interests of the State as best as a lawful minister and be a good substitute for him.[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Charitren*, Part II, *Itihasa Sangraha*, p. 120; *Selections From the Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries*, *Shahu Chhatrapati*, Vol.I, ed. G.C. Vad, p. 43; *Holkarachi Kaifiyat*, ed. K.N. Sane, p. 4; *New History of the Marathas*, G.S. Sardesai, Bombay, 1968, pp. 11-13.

In 1772 when Narayanrao became the Peshwa, he was only seventeen years old and he died after barely nine months of his accession. The next Peshwa Raghunathrao had to take to flight from Poona within three months after his succession to the vacant post of Peshwaship. After that there was a long regency which ended only when Bajirao II suppressed Nana Phadnis and occupied his ancestral seat. But even then he could not become the master of his own house in the manner that his ancestors adorned the seat of the Peshwas and ruled as real masters of the State. The Peshwa could attain to the supremacy in the internal affairs only when his rebellious Sardars were kept away by the Treaty of Bassein in 1802.[2]

After the death of Narayanrao, within a period of ten years the centre of Maratha politics shifted from Poona to north India. This change was clearly visible after the

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 11.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 12.

Treaty of Salbye in 1782 and the death of Haider Ali. The unity of the Maratha nation which embraced the country from the Krishna river in the south to the Ramganga and the Himalayan foothills in the North was gravely shaken.[1]

The Peshwa Madhavrao died on November 18, 1772.[2] Before his death he had nominated his younger brother Narayanrao to the Peshwaship and advised him to run the administration according to the advice of Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnis who were the most competent and experienced persons of the State.[3] Special instructions were given to continue Raghunathrao in confinement so that he could not commit any mischief.[4]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 13.

2. *Aitihasik Charitren*, Part II, p. 120; *Selections From the Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Shahu Chhatrapati*, Vol.I, p. 43; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 13.

3. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, From 1770 to 1774*, Vol. IV, ed. V.V. Khare, Kolhapur, year 1901, pp. 1895-1898, 1901; Imperial Record Department, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1772-1775, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1925, No. 972, *Selections From the Satara Rajas And The Peshwa's Diaries, Shahu Chhatrapati*, Vol. I, p. 43; *Holkarachi Kaifiyat*, p. 4.

4. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.4, p. 1951.
New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 13.

When Narayanrao was proceeding to Satara to receive the robes of Peshwaship from the Chhatrapati, his uncle Raghunathrao refused to accompany him unless he was granted an independent jagir yielding twentyfive lakhs annually for the maintenance of himself and his family but he had to give up his demand. On December 13, Narayanrao received the robes of Peshwaship from the Raja at Satara and Sakharam Bapu was conferred the office of administrator or Karbhari.[1]

Immediately after Narayanrao's accession the Poona court reported the following opinion, "The Shrimant .... is yet a child and does not follow the guidance of Sakharam Bapu. The tiger is gone, now the jackals alone remain behind God save the State."[2]

So far as the political condition of that period is concerned, it was a period of comparative calm all over India. Mahadji Sindia and other Maratha Sardars were engaged in looking after the Imperial matters of Delhi and collecting revenues from the different districts of North India.

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IV, p . 1947-1948,1973; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. 3,ed. K.V. Purandare, Year 1934, Nos. 110, 111, 112, 134; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 14.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 14.

Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, who was a friend of the Marathas went to Poona himself in December 1772 and asked the new Peshwa to launch a new plan for the management of the affairs of northern India.[1] Since Ghazi-ud-din was an old friend of the Marathas and had helped Marathas during pre-Panipat days, Nana Phadnis conferred a small jagir on him in Bundelkhand to honour the promise which the Peshwa Narayanrao had personally made to him.[2]

As soon as Madhavrao died, the Bombay Government started aggressive actions towards the Marathas according to the orders of the Home-Government. Mr. Hornby, the President of the Bombay Council, received the orders from the Home-Government to try to capture from the Marathas some places on the mainland of India, like Salsette, Bassein, Elephanta, Koranja and other islands in the vicinity of Bombay and to send a British agent at Poona to achieve this object. Mostyn was sent to Poona and he reached there on October 13, 1772 to watch the course of events with the idea of capturing those places and to advice the Bombay authorities for adopting such measures as the situation in

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1. Purandare Daftar, Vol. III, No. 112; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 4, pp. 1951-1954, 1976; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 15.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 15.

Poona required. Immediately after the death of Madhavrao I the British navy started aggressive attacks on the Maratha posts of Thana, Bassein, Vijaydurg and Ratnagiri on the west coast but their efforts were foiled by the stiff opposition offered by Trimbak Vinayak and naval officer of Dhulap of Vijaydurg. But Mostyn stayed at Poona to seek another opportunity to achieve Home Government's designs.[1] Nobody had the idea that the presence of Mostyn in Poona could create any harm. But since the last days of Madhavrao I Mostyn was silently observing the course of events at Poona with the aim of wrecking the Maratha power and was sending ~~supplying~~ despatches of the day-to-day developments to the Bombay Council and advising the British authorities to take advantage of the difficulties of the Maratha government.[2]

On August 30, 1773 the Peshwa Narayanrao was murdered. This murder was the result of a palace conspiracy and Raghunathrao was a party to it.[3] Before his death Narayanrao had sent urgent summons to his massive forces to hurry back to the south from the North in view of the crisis that was developing at home. Accordingly, the Maratha forces

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1. *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. III, pp. 16,17; *The Foreign Policy of Warren Hastings,* Ram Prakash, Hoshiarpur, 1960; *Anglo-Maratha Relations,* S.N.Sen, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 2-8.

2. *New History of the Marathas,* Vol.III, p.42; *Anglo-Maratha Relations,* p. 8.

3. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha,* Vol. 4, pp. 1962-1966; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. IV, Nos.552, 553, 581,584,972,1018; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee,* from 15th February to 4th October 1773, pp.75,76; *New History of the Marathas.*Vol.III.pp.23-28.

returned from Northern India. Holkar came to Indore after collecting tribute from the Jat Raja and establishing friendship with him. Sindia came to Ujjain and Visaji Krishna reached Poona immediately on the murder of the Peshwa Narayanrao after the disposal of the urgent work calling for his attention in his northern expedition. He brought with him a treasure worth twenty two lakhs of rupees in cash, in addition to jewellery and other articles which were seized by Raghunathrao and relieved him of his immediate monetary problems.[1]

Raghunathrao immediately secured the robes of Peshwaship from the Chhatrapati on October, 10 and accepted them on 31st October. He prepared his own seal from which he removed Chhatrapati Ram Raja's name considering it as inauspicious.[2] Immediately on the murder of Narayanrao, Mostyn called on Raghunathrao very frequently and offered British help in case of need.[3] In the mean time Ram Shashtri, the chief justice, had started the inquiry into the murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao. A strong feeling of resentment prevailed in Poona against Raghunathrao, who had secured the Peshwaship, on the murder of Narayanrao in consequence of a conspiracy believed to have been formed by him. This reduced the possibility of Raghunathrao being accepted as the Peshwa by the people and the Maratha Sardars.[1] Immediately a Council known as Barbhais (twelve comrades) was formed to rule the country and it expelled Raghunathrao from his position which brought war with the English known as the First Maratha War lasting for eight years from 1774 to 1782.[2] There was all possibility that Raghunathrao would be captured by Barbhais but suddenly the British attacked the fort of Thana, the main post commanding the whole Salsette region and captured it on 28th of December.[3]

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[1] *Holkarachi Kaifiyat*, p. 4; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 4, pp. 1958-1959; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 30.

[2] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.IV, ed. V.V. Khare, p. 2001; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III,p.30; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee*, From 15th February to 4th October 1773, p. 75.

[3] *The Foreign Policy of Warren Hastings*, p. 31.

The hopes of Raghunathrao to remain the legitimate Peshwa were soon shattered when on April 18, 1774, the wife of the murdered Peshwa gave birth to a son.[4] With this event

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1. *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, p.20; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 31-32.

2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 32, 38.

3. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.4, pp.2009-2010. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 42-43.

4. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1097, 1574, 1842; *Selections From Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries, Shahu Chhatrapati*, Vol.I, p. 44; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.III,pp. 33-35, 41, 45; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.4, pp. 1967-2026.

the position of Raghunath Rao to continue in office vanished. He became a wanderer for all his life. The rule of Barbhais was firmly established on the Maratha State.[1]

On 17th February 1774, the following proclaimation was issued in the name of Chhatrapati, "Raghunath Bajirao has committed the gross sin of brining about the ruin of the Peshwa Narayanrao, and of forcibly exacting robes of that office from us. He has now been deprived of that position and a force has been despatched against him under Trimbakrao Pethe. Every one is called upon to collaborate in this sacred task." Similar letters were sent to all Maratha Sardars.[2]

The Chhatrapati gave the robes of Peshwaship to the child and they were invested on him on the 40th day of his life on May 28, 1774 at a special darbar at Purandar.[3]

Both Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar had just returned from their assignments in the territory of Delhi. They had own problems. Their troops were clamouring for pay.[4] Mahadji

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1. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 4, p. 2027; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, pp. 33,45.
2. Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 230; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 41.
3. Selections From the Satara Rajas and the Peshwa's Diaries. Shahu Chhatrapati, Vol. I, p. 44; New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 46.
4. Aitihasik Patravyavhar, No. 142; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 47.

Sindia generally supported Nana Phadnis and Tukoji Holkar to the opponents. Raghunathrao sent his agents from Indore to Calcutta and Surat and asked for the British help to recover his lost position. He also tried to have as many supporters in Northern India as he could do.[1] Raghunathrao retreated towards Burhanpur to get the help from Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar. In case Sindia and Holkar did not join him, Raghunathrao thought of asking Shuja-ud-daulah for help.[2]

Sindia and Holkar tried their best to persuade Raghunathrao from adopting the rebellious path which he was following. They told him that, "you must give up your claim to the Peshwaship; recognise the newly born child as the master and manage the State in his name till he comes of age. If you wish to make war, you have enough field outside; if you accept our advice, we shall guarantee that Bapu and Nana would support and obey you." But Raghunathrao was ready to accept it. He said that he had made efforts to rule as Peshwa. With this objective he had

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, Nos. 1108; 1436; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 47; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p.28; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 4, pp. 2009-2010.

2. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IV, p. 2027; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, Nos. 1094,1184, 1108; The Third Embassy to Poona, Gense and Banaji, 1934, pp. 344-350; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p.25.

demanded for a half share in the State from the late Peshwa Madhavrao. He adopted a son and even attempted to remove the Peshwa Narayan Rao from his post. Throughout the months of May and June Sindia and Holkar tried to settle the matter through negotiations in Ujjain but nothing could be settled.[1]

Raghunathrao sent his agents to Shuja-ud-daulah and Warren Hastings asking for armed help from them.[2] After great efforts Sindia and Holkar were successful in pursuading Raghunathrao to come back and to have a personal meeting with the ministers in Burhanpur. Raghunathrao promised to meet the ministers but suddenly he moved northwards to Bhopal. Sindia and Holkar followed him and they brought him back. All of them marched towards the south and crossed the Narmada at the end of July.[3] They encamped near Dhulkot

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp.47-48; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.IV, Nos. 1097,1184,1108, 1018, 1026; Anglo-Maratha Relations, pp.26-28. The terms proposed for settlement were as follows: "1. Raghunathrao should be given six lakhs of rupees to pay off his contingents. (2) One lakh of rupees should be given to Raghunarth Rao for his personal expenditure and the expenses for his servants and other personnel should be paid every month by the ministers (3) After the dispersal of his army Sindia and Holkar should conduct Raghunath Ro to Poona (4) About Five hundred soldiers from the armies of Sindia and Holkar should be placed at Raghunath Rao's disposal, the expenses being borne by the Poona Government.(5) Members of certain Brahmin families and others who were detained need not be released (6) Traitors should be punished."

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.IV, No. 1816, New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 48; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p. 28.

and called the ministers from Purandar for a personal meeting. The negotiations between Raghunathrao and the two sardars. Sindia and Holkar continued for a long time which exhausted the patience of the ministers. They were already ready to give Raghunathrao a jagir woth ten lakhs and two forts under the supervision of Sindia and Holkar. The instructions were sent to Sindia and Holkar to make a final settlement with Raghunath Rao.[1] The negotiations were started at Burhanpur. Nana Phadnis and Sakharam Bapu had also left for Burhanpur in the last week of November with his troops. In the course of negotiations Raghunathrao suspected that he was on the point of being captured so he took to flight suddenly on the night of 10th December and finally entered into a treaty with the British on 6th March 1775 knwn as the treaty of Surat. The main terms of the treaty were as follows:

> "(1) A military contingent of 2500 men should be placed at the disposal of Raghunath Rao, of which at least 700 were to be Europeans with sufficient artillery;

(Continued from previous page...)

3. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. V, No. 1393; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, Nos. 1574, 1560; 1436; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 48; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p. 27.

[1] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. V, Nos. 1406, 1408; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p. 27.

(2) For the expenses of this body a sum of Rs. one and a half lacs was to be paid every month in advance;

(3) Rupees Six lacsor an equivalent in jewellery should be deposited in British hands;

(4) In addition, Raghunath Rao was to cede to the English in perpetuity all the Bombay islands including Thana, Bassein, and Salsette and the talukas of Jamusar and olpad near Surat."[1]

According to this agreement a British force under Colonel Keatinge marched from Bombay and arrived at Surat on 28th February. The British force left Surat for Cambay on 15th March by sea with Raghunathrao to defeat the Maratha armies encamping in Gujrat and then march on to Poona.[2]

On 8th March 1775 Warren Hastings addressed a letter to Bombay and reminded the President that by finalising the Treaty of Surat he had acted without authority and it damaged the cordial British relations subsisting with the Maratha Government. Hastings asked the Bombay authorities to stop the war immediately and withdraw their forces. This letter reached Bombay on 21st May when both the armies were busy in a deadly fight in north Gujrat. The Bombay authorities did not stop the war.[1] On 31st May another letter was sent to Bombay by the Calcutta Council. It said, "Our duty imposes upon us the painful necessity of declaring that we wholly condemn the measures which you have adopted, that we hold the treaty which you have entered into with Raghoba invalid and the war which you have undertaken against the Maratha State, impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust; both are expressly contrary to the late Act of Parliament. You have imposed on yourselves the charge of conquering the whole Maratha Empire for a man who appears incapable of affording you any effectual assistance in it; the plan which you have formed instead of aiming at a decisive conquest, portends an indefinite scene of troubles, without an adquate force, without navy or certain resources to extricate you from him; nor have you the pleas either of injury sustained from the party which you have made your enemy or any prior obligation to defend the man whose cause you have espoused. We solemnly protest against you for all the consequences and peremptorily require you to withdraw the Comapny's force to your own garrison in whatever state you affairs may be, unless their safety may be endangered by their retreat. We expect your punctual compliance with our commands. It is our intention to open a negotiation with the ruling party of the Maratha State at Poona as soon as possible."[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. V, No. 1401; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 48-50; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, pp. 38-39; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 1842.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51; *Anglo Maratha Relations*, p. 40.

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 4, Nos. 1944, 1974, 1842; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 80-81; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, pp. 49-51; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1776-1780, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1930, Nos. 148, 158, 162, 437.

Warren Hastings wrote to the Poona administration on 10th July that he was sending his own agent to Poona to stop the war and to start friendly negotiations with the Marathas. By the order of Warren Hastings Colonel Upton left Calcutta in October 1775.[2]

Upton reached Poona on December 30, 1775 to negotiate the terms of peace and encamped at Purandar.[3] On Ist March, after long discussions a treaty was signed at Purandar by Upton on behalf of the Company, and Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnis on behalf of the infant Peshwa.[4] By the terms of the

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1. Quoted in *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p.53; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, p. 51.

2. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, Nos. 1842, 1881, 1883, 1897, 1916, 1944, 1948, 1975, 1978, 1982, 2011, 2039; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.V, 1776-1780; Calcutta, 1930, Nos. 1,3,17,18,64,79; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, pp. 53-54.

3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.4, Nos. 2011, 2039; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 55; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, p. 62.

4. English Records of Maratha History, *Poona Residency Correspondence*, (Extra Volume) entitled *Selections from the Malet's letter Book, 1780-1784*, No. 27; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, p. 68; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III,

treaty it was decided that "the peace between the English and the Marathas should be fully established (Art. 1). The Marathas being anxious to recover Salsette would in return give the company a country producing three lakhs of rupees, in the 'neighbourhood' of Broach, but it was to be left to the discretion of the Calcutta Council to accept it or not (Art. 3). The city and pargana of Broach was to be ceded 'for ever' to the Company (Art. 4). The English were also to get a country of the yearly produce of three lakhs adjoining Broach (Art. 5). For the expenses of the war the English should be paid twelve lakhs, six within six months, and the remainder within two years (Art. 6). The English agreed to renounce the cessions of territory in Gujrat, provided it appeared that Fateh Singh had no 'power or authority to make such cessions'. All treaties made by Bombay Council with Raghunathrao were to be annulled as was also that with Fateh Singh (Art. 7). The English troops were to march into their own garrisons and districts' (Art. 8). Raghunath Rao was to disband his army, and all its adherents except four were to have a full and free pardon (Art. 9). If Raghunath Rao refused to disband, the English were to give him no assistance, but withdraw from him (Art. 10). On condition of Raghunath Rao's agreeing to the terms prescribed, the Peshwa and his ministers were to allow him an establishment of 1,000 horse and 200 domestics, to be paid by them. Raghunathrao was to receive a pension of twenty five thousand rupees per month provided he should retire to Kopergaon on the Godavari (Art. II). The English were also to aid or assist in any manner, either Raghunath Rao or any person disturbing the peace of the Maratha dominions (Art. 12). The treaties between the Government of Bombay and the Marathas, dated July 1739 and the 12th October 1756, were to be "held and continued in as full force as when were first entered into unless any article or articles of either of them should in other manner be provided for by this treaty" (Art. 15). These are the important articles of the Treaty of Purandar, which was ratified on Ist April 1776 by the Calcutta Council.[1]

After this treaty the hostilities came to an end for all practical purposes. Everybody left Raghunathrao alone. The Peshwa had now become two years old and was acknowledged as the master of the Maratha nation.[2]

Warren Hastings was trying to subdue the Marathas by all possible means. When Ram Raja, the Chhatrapati of Satara was on his death bed, Warren Hastings tried secure control of the Maratha State by making efforts to give the post of Chhatrapati to Madhoji Bhosle of Nagpur and thus establish a direct control at the Centre of the Maratha power. Bapu and Nana Phadnis immediately brought Raghu to Poona. He was the young son of Mudhoji and the head of the Nagpur State and sought his help against the British interference. Vithoji Bhosle, son of Trimbakji of the Wavi Branch, was adopted by Ram Raja on 15th September 1777 with the help of the ministers and he was given the name of Shahu. On 9th December Ram Raja died. Warren Hastings continued his efforts to pursue Mudhoji to go to Satara under the British protection and claim the throne but this plan was rejected by Mudhoji.[1]

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[1] Anglo-Maratha Relations, pp. 68-69; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp. 57-58; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. V, Nos. 100, 220, 227, 301,437, 665.

[2] New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 59.

In January 1779 after the defeat of English at Wadgaon, the treaty of Wadgaon was concluded between Mahadji and Farmer. The terms of the treaty were as follows: "(1) The surrender of Raghunathrao (2) Return of Salsette, Thana and the territory captured by the British in Gujrat. (3) The force from Bengal to be ordered back (4) Two Englishmen to be placed as hostages in Maratha hands until the terms had been fully and faithfully executed." This

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1 1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 76.

treaty was never accepted by the British authorities of Bombay and Calcutta. Warren Hastings refused to execute the terms of the Treaty.[1]

Consequently Raghunath Rao signed an agreement with terms: (1) Raghunathrao accepted Madhavrao Narayan as the legitimate Peshwa (2) He renounced his own claim to the post of the Peshwa (3) He admitted his fault in starting a war against the Maratha State (4) He agreed to retire from all public affairs and stay at Jhansi for the rest of his life with an assignment of a jagir worth twelve lakhs and (5) requested that his son, Bajirao should be permitted to conduct the administration for the Peshwa when both of them come of age, following the precedence of Nana Saheb and Bhau Saheb.[2] Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar took the guarantee for the proper implementation of the terms of the agreement.[3]

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[1] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 81-82; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 256.

[2] *Aitihasik Tipne*, *Itihasa Sangraha*, ed. D.B.Parasnis, pp. 1-7; *Treaties and Engagements*, ed. D.B. Parasnis, pp. 130-134; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 84-85; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.V, No. 1550.

[3] *New History of the Marathas*, p. 85.

Warren Hastings sent new forces through Bundelkhand and Malwa first under Captain Popham and later on under Colonel Camac and Muir. Nana advised Mahadji Sindia to camp in Khandesh between Burhanpur and Kondai but Mahadji encamped in Malwa. Nana became angry Mahadji urged that Poona could be safeguarded only from Malwa by checking fresh British forces from passing through that province into the Deccan. He argued that if Malwa was lost, the Maratha state would not endure.[1] Mahadji supplied money and troops to Govindrao Gaikwad and sent him to Gujrat to take the control of Baroda. Mahadji also asked Mudhoji Bhosle to march into Bengal. He thought that if Calcutta was threatened, the British would immediately surrender.[2]

In 1778 when Goddard moved across Central India he had reported to Warren Hastings that unless the Maratha power in Malwa was totally paralysed, the war in Western India could not be ended. So Hastings sent a force under Popham and won over the Rana of Gohad to his side who was brought under control by the Marathas since a long time.

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1. *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 103-109, 134-136, 152; *Nana Phadnis Shakavali* p. 94; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 104; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, (Extra Volume), Nos. 42,43; The *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p. 256.

2. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Gwalior, 1937, Nos. 107-136, 152; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, P. 105; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, (Extra Volume) Nos. 43,45.

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1. *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 103-109,134-136, 152; *Nana Phadnis Shakawali*, p.94; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 104; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, (Extra Volume), Nos. 42,43; *The History and Culture of the Indian* Vol. VIII, p. 256.

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Formally the two important forts of Gwalior and Gohad were possessed by Rana which were the basis of the power of Mahadji in Malwa and Bundelkhand. When Mahadji Sindia encamped at Ujjan, Hastings sent Popham for the help of Rana of Gohad and they suddenly attacked Gwalior and captured the fort on August, 4, 1780 before any attempt could be made by Mahadji to protect it.[1] The fort of Gwalior was considered impregnable but Sarup Chand Gupta a man in Mahadji's service told Goddard about a secret way to reduce and the English easily forced the entry into the fort.[2] The Kiledar, Raghunath Ramchandra, was killed, many members of his family committed suicide. Ambuli Ingle, a Sardar of Mahadji, defended the fort bravely but finally he had to surrender the fort. Many discontented Maratha Sardars joined the English. Now the English moved towards Antri and Sipri to attack on Mahadji. Hastings sent Camac for the help of Popham. After crossing the Jamuna at Kalpi, Camac reached Sironj in February 1781 and invaded Bhilsa which was in the possession of Nawab of Bhopal. Mahadji sent Ambuji Ingle and Khanderas Hari to face the advancing English forces and he himself encamped near Bhilsa to

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1. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 103-109; *Historical Papers of Sindia of Gwalior*, (1774-1794) *Satara Historical Research Society, Vol.* 1, ed. D.B. *Diskalkar*, 1934, Nos. 39,43; *Nana Phadnis Shakauali*, p. 94; *Holkarachi Kaifiyat* , p. 15; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1776-1780, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1930, Nos. 1805, 1806, 1908; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.VII, Nos. 2568, 2636; *Seir Mutagherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol.III, pp. 117, 136-137; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.III p. 109.
2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 109; *Caldnear of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, Nos. 1805, 1806, 1908, 1947, 1948, 1989.

oppose Camac Mahadji defeated Camac's forces but Camac made a surprise attack on the Mahadji on 24th March and defeated him. He also received reinforcements under Muir in April. The Maratha rule in Central India almost came to an end.[1]

Mahadji Sindia requested Ahilyabai to send reinforcements from Indore and a force also reached from Poona under Balwantrao Dhondadev. Now the position of Mahadji improved and he wrote the Nana not to approach Goddard to conclude the peace terms. On Ist July Mahadji routed Muir near Sipri and encamped in the vicinity of Jhansi. Coloneal Muir also established his camptat Sipri. There was a distance of about forty miles btweeen the two camp.[2]

During the summer of 1781 Hastings came to know about the defeat of Goddard in the compaign of konkan and the failure of Mudhoji in concluding peace with Poona, he became extremely disappointed because of the paucity of funds. He marched to Benares with the object of taking

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1. *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 134-145; 152, 154; *Historical Papers of Sindhias of Gwalior*, Vol. I, Nos. 43, 54; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, Nos. 1805, 1806, 1908, 1947, 1948, 1989; Imperial Records Department, ; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1781 - 1785, Vol. VI, Delhi 1939, Nos. 108,196,516; *New History of the Marathas* Vol. III, pp. 109-110; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. VII, Nos. 2568; 2636; *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. LLL, pp. 136-137; *Poona Residency Correspondence* Etra Volums, N os. 42, 43, 45.

2. Continued on next page ....

Some many from Chet Singh and to open negotiations with Mahadji. He called Diwakar Pandit from Nagpur to Benares for this purpose but Diwakar had died. At this time Chet Singh also rebelled.[1] So Hastings asked Colonel Muir, then encamped in Bundelkhand, to pursue Mahadji to make some agreement. During August Muir came to know through his mediators about the readiness of Mahadji to finalize a treaty if Salsette, Bassein and the other places near Bombay were returned to the Poona Government and the Rana of Gohad was kept under his control. Muir immediately agreed for these terms on conditions that Mahadji should not misbehave with Rana for his past attitude. The matter was referred to the Governor-General at Benares and a temporary agreement was made between Muir and Mahadji on October 13, 1781.[2] The terms of that agreement were as under:

1. Mahadji and Muir should stop fighting.

(Contd. from previous page .... F.N. 2)

2. Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia, No.154; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 8, p. 3653; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 110; Seir Mutaqherin, (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, pp. 136-137.

[1] Poona Residency Correspondence, (Extra Volume), No.43 New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp. 111.

[2] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. VII, pp. 3653-3654; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 182, 188-190; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VI, No. 267, 304; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp. 111-112; Seir Mutakherin (Eng. tr.), Vol. III, pp. 136-137; Poona Residency Correspondence, (Extra Volume), No. 56.

2. In a week's time both the parties should return to their head-quarters; Muir beyond the Jamuna and Mahadji to Ujjan.
3. Mahadji Sindia should arrange a peace between the English and the Poona Government and between the English and Haider Ali through his mediation.
4. The territory captured by the English in Bundelkhand should be given back to the Marathas with the princes who had gone to the English.

Mahadji also told Muir and Warren Hastings that he claimed a completely free hand in the management of the affairs of Northern India. Specially of the Emperor. Hastings immediately accepted all the points demanded by Mahadji and opened the way for the settlement of a final treaty.[1]

Warren Hastings wished to meet Mahadji Sindia. He deputed and sent his personal agent, David Anderson with full powers to settle the terms immediately with Mahadji on the basis of the agreement already arrived at with Muir.[1] Hastings asked Anderson to arrange for a meeting between Mahadji Sindia and Hastings somewhere near Farrukhabad in the Doab. Mahadji avoided a personal meeting on the advice of Nana Phadnis. On 14th December 178, Chet Singh, the Raja of Benares, sought asylum under Mahadji and a week later Mahadji Sindia was apprised to Andersons vis it to him in the latters capacity of being the personal agent of the Governor-General - Anderson asked Mahadji to dismise Chet Singh considering him as the enemy of the British. Mahadji refused to dismise Chet Singh also. Anderson had no other alternative except paying a visit to Mahadji on December 23, 1781.[2] The term proposed by Warren Hastings for effecting a treaty through the agency of Anderson ran as follows:-

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[1] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. VII, pp. 3653-3654; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 182, 188-190; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VI, Nos. 267, 304, New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp. 111-112; Poona Residency Correspondence, (Extra Volume) No. 56.

1. That Mahadji should undertake to bring about an offensive and defensive alliance between the English and the Marathas on one hand and Haider Ali on the others;
2. That the English should retain their conquests in Bombay and Gujrat;

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 7, p. 3654; *English Records of Maratha History*, *Poona Residency Correspondence* (Extra Volume) entitled '*Selections, From Sir C.H. Malet's Letter Book*' 1780-1784, ed. Raghubir Singh, Bombay, 1940, Nos. 63, 64,68; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, Nos. 276, 283, 310; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, P. 115.

[2] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. III, Nos. 308, 310, 862; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, P. 115.

3. That Raghunathrao should be given adequate provision;
4. That this treaty should not effect the engagements which the English had made with Nagpur, Baroda and Haiderabad, that Mahadji was free to deal with the Rana of Gohad as he liked.
5. That the Marathas should entertain no other European nationals in their service.[1]

On the other hand the Peshwa proposed his terms to the effect that "Raghunathrao together with the forts and the country in his possession shall be given up to him. The *chauth* of Surat and Broach shall be restored to him and the receipts taken from Raghunathroa and Fath Singh shall be returned.

Treaty entered into by Col. Upton shall be replaced bytthe Present one.

Protection shall not be given by the English to the Rana of Gohad, the Fath Singh Gaikwar. The collection made by the English from His country shall be returned to him.

The King's (Shahalam's) country taken possession of by the English shall be restored and in further the

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[1] *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. III, p. 117.

the latter shall exicite no animosity between His Majesty and Najaf Khan.

Kashi and Prayag shall be sold to him as they are held sacred by him. The *chauth* of Bengal shall be given to him as before and the English shall not disturb Cuttack (Dated 2 November)".[1]

On 14th February 1782 Mahadji Sindia wrote a letter to Nana intimating him about the visit of Anderson with certain terms from Hastings. He asked Nana whether he should send him to Poona and whether it would be possible to make a treaty without any reference to Haider Ali. He further wrote that if no settlement was made by him, the Marathas had to face a war for which they possessed neither the equipment nor the funds. Mahadji urged that if he was provided with an amount of about fifteen lakhs, he could go for an expedition into Bengal. If it was not possible then he advised Nana to finalize a treaty on the best terms which could be obtained. He further urged that if the Bhosla was not ready to act against the English, the terms should be finalized without any further delay.[2]

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI No.304; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. VIII, pp. 3653-3654.

2. *New History of the Marathas*, Voll III, pp. 117-118; *Anglo Maratha Relations*, pp. 203-205.

After prolonged discussions and correspondence, a treaty was finalized and signed by Mahadji Sindia and Anderson at Salbye, twenty miles south of Gwalior, on May 17, 1782. The treaty contained the following seventeen articles: "1. All places and territories taken in the course of the war from the Peshwa were to be restored by the English in two months after the ratification of the treaty. 2. Salsette and the three other islands, viz., Elephanta, Karanja and Hog, included in Upton's treaty, should remain in possession of the English 3. Broach was to remain with the English. 4. The English agreed to relinquish their claim to a country of three lakhs, near Broach, which they had acquired from the Peshwa by the treaty of Purander. 5. The territories which Sayaji and Fateh Singh Gaikwad had given to the English should be restored either to the Gaikwada or to the Peshwa to whom they belonged. 6. Raghunathrao was permitted to go wherever he pleased and allowed four month's time for that purpose. After the expiration of that period, the English should not afford him 'any support, protection, or assistance, nor supply him with money for his expenses'. A maintenance grant of 25,000 rupees per month was to be given to Raghunath Rao by the Peshwa if he should 'voluntarily and of his own accord' place himself under the protection of Mahadji Sindia

7. The allies of each party were to be included in the treaty. 8. Fateh Singh should retain whatever territory he has possessed prior to 1775. For the future, he should pay to the Peshwa such tribute as was usual and perform such services as had long been established and customary. No claim of tribute was to be made by the Peshwa against Fateh Singh during the hostilities. 9. The Peshwa agreed that Haider Ali should relinquish all his conquests in the Carnatic, and release all prisoners within six months after ratification of the treaty. The English also engaged to abstain from hostilities with him when he was at peace with them and with the Peshwa. 10. Both parties defined their respective allies and agreed to maintain peace towards him. 11, 12. The navigation and commerce of each state were opened to the other. 13. No European factories were to be allowed in any of the Peshwa's dominions except such as the Portuguese already possessed. 14. Neither party was to afford any kind of assistance to the enemies of the other 15. No party would permit its chiefs, dependents or subjects to violate the terms of the treaty. 16. Mahadji Sindia should act as the mutual guarantee for the perpetual and invariable adherence' by both parties to the conditions of this treaty. 17. The English renounced all claims to territories, forts or cities in Gujarat obtained from Raghunathrao. In addition to the 9th article, Mahadji Sindia solemnly promised that if Haider Ali should refuse to abide

by the terms of the treaty, the forces of the Peshwa would join the English in compelling him to accept them. Broach was to be conferred on Sindia as a token of his friendly diposition towards the English." Warren Hastings ratified the treaty on 6th June at Fort William but Nana Phadnis signed it much later on 24th February, 1783.[1]

This treaty of Salbai is an important landmark in the political history of India. Mahadji Sindia tried to secure the best bargain through this treaty. The importance of Mahadji increased because he was accepted to be the mutual guarantee for both the parties to secure the faithful and strict observance of the terms of the Treaty. Hastings honoured Mahadji Sindia by offering his hand of friendship and gave him a free hand in the management of Imperial affairs which afforded Mahadji with the opportunity, scope and direction in his subsequent advance into the North. During the times of early Peshwas the centre of gravity in Indian politics had shifted from Delhi to Poona but now it was returning again to the North where the political situation was assuming greater dimensions and the course of events had yet to prove as to which one of the powers scrambling for supremacy would finally emerge triumphant and all pervading.[1]

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[1] Anglo-Marath Relations, pp.207-208; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.VI, No.516; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. VII, pp. 3549, 3550, 3654; Treaties and Engagements, C.U. Aitchison, Year 1883, Vol. 3, pp. 49-54; Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, C.U. Aitchison, Year 1892, Vol. VI, pp. 41-45; New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp. 118-119; English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence (Extra Volume), Nos. 79, 82, 87; Anglo-Maratha Relations, pp. 207-210.

The treaty of Salbai gave a direction to this development but unfortunately Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Sindia, who were representing the Maratha government, were not present on the spot for negotiations. Nana Phadnis did never move towards the North subsequent to the disaster in the Battle of Panipat. Neither he nor Sindia visited the sight of negotiations but they carried on full discussions through personal correspondecne. The formation of an all India confederacy to defeat the English was a significant stroke of policy which stands to the credit and an abiding achievement of Nana Phadnis.[2] This Ango-Maratha war covered a period of nine years from the murder of Narayanrao to the Treaty of Salbai. This testifies to the inherent strength, endurance and the great resistance of the Maratha nation which was neither exhausted by the defeat of the Marathas in the Battle of Panipat nor stunted by the death of their all important Peshwa Madhavrao. The Maratha generals and diplomats exhibited the same undaunted courage as ever and faced the forces of one of the greatest British Governors-General, Warren Hastings with self composure and innate strength and normal fibre.

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[1] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. VII, ed. V.V. Khare, pp. 3654-3655; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 119-120.

[2] English Records of Maratha History, *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Extra Volume, No. 81; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 120-122.

A very important result of this war was the adoption of western methods by the great Maratha leader Mahadji Sindia although Nana Phadnis, Hari Pant and others did not own up and employ them all at once in the great task of the preservation of the independence of the Maratha Nation.[1]

Raghunathrao continued to stay at Surat under the protection and maintenance provided by the English for more than a year even after the treaty of Salbye. Finally the English stopped the payment of allowance to him. Nana and Mahadji Sindia demanded his surrender for some time but thereafter they desisted from it as Raghunathrao did no longer possess any power of mischief.[2]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, pp.123-124; Anglo-Maratha Relations, p. 221.

[2] New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, p. 124.

When the British did not pay any allowance to Raghunathrao at Surat, he showed readiness to go to Mahadji and accept his proposal as to his residence in future. Mahadji asked Raghunathrao to stay at Kopargaum on the Godavari near Nasik. Raghunathrao surrendered with all his family to Haripant Phadke near Chandwad about the middle of July 1783.[1] He accepted Sawai Madhavrao as the Peshwa. Raghunathrao wrote a letter to Nana Phadnis on 19th July, " I have now removed from my mind all the hatred and ill-will which I had so long entertained towards you. We shall rejoice to see you prosper and highly appreciate the way in which you have tried to preserve the Maratha State." An agreement had already been arrived at between them under mutual oaths, which ensured that Raghunathrao renounced all his claims and intentions of causing any harm to the interests of the Maratha State.[2]

This was a period of great trials and tribulations in which the stability and advancement of the Maratha State was shaken to the core by the disputes and the conflicting

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1. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. VII, Nos. 2677,2685; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 126-127; *Anglo-Maratha Relations*, pp. 220-221.

2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp.126-127.

claims, conspiracies and machinations of contenders at home who had at one time relegated the national interests to the background and were occupied with the realisation of their selfish ends. The example of Raghunathrao stands foremost in this arena of tense political situation.

The Maratha Sardars on their part as well, were two conscious of their select spheres of power and territorial assignments and were too keen to secure them firmly.

The British with intention to strike at the root of the Maratha power which was the greatest impediment in the way of their supremacy in south India internoddled in the internal affairs of the Poona government which was riven by factions following the assissination of Peshwa Narayanrao. The machinations and the usurpation by Raghunath-Rao could have been best dealt with by the high dignitaries of Poona Court and Maratha Sardars It was none of the concerns of the British authorities but they dabbled in Maratha politics by espousing the cause of Raghunath Rao with a view to entracting large concessions from him to strengthen British position in South India and thereby legitimising their ill-gotten gains by his signing away and bartering Maratha independence for a temporary phase of power and ascension to the exalted seat of Peshwaship.

The objectives which the English placed before themselves in the prolonged First Anglo-Maratha War, 1775-1782, were three-fold, viz, (1) to secure as many territorial, strategic maritime and financial gains as possible, (2) progressive deterioration in the quantum of independence enjoyed by the Marathas and to bring them at bay with a view to compelling them to surrender their independent stance and status in their dealings with the British, and (3) to drive as under the Maratha solidarity and undermine the writ of the Poona Government by recognising the Maratha Sardars as independent princes so that even the semblance of Maratha unity be shattered and the British would deal with them separately in a premeditated design to gradually reduce them as innocusous entities which could be accomodated under the overriding authority of the expanding British dominions in India.

This process was initiated by the Treaty of Surat, March, 7, 1775 and encouraged by the Treaty of Salbai, May 17, 1782 which recognised Sindhia as an independent prince. The Treaty of Salbai gave a respite to the British by giving them "peace with the Marathas for twenty years" and left them free to fight their old enemies like Tipu and the French and to bring the Nizam and the Navab of Oudh under their control.

On their part the Maratha learning a lesson from the First Anglo-Maratha War would not provoke hostilities with the British and the later would consolidate their gains and reduce their enemies elsewhere without fear from Maratha interference.

All this afforded a most welcome opportunity to Mahadji Sindhia, the ambitious, energetic and resourceful Maratha adventurer to establish his ascendency in the North.

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CHAPTER - VII

NEW DIMENSIONS TO MARATHA POLICY : MAHADJI SINDIA AND THE MERIDIAN PRIME OF THE MARATHA POWER IN THE NORTH.

Under Mahadji Sindia the Maratha policy in the North attained the realisation of its ideals, the culmination of its avowed objective of reaching the farthest point towards expansion and consolidation in the North with the willing cooperation and legitimisation of authority by the Mughal Emperor and the acquisition of high prestige, dignity and splendour, unrivalled in the Maratha history.

An analysis of the political, diplomatic and military factors determining the course of events in the last quarter of the 18th century reveals the greatness and the constructiee genius of Mahadji Sindia who ranks among the top-ranking leaders of Maratha history. The chief objectives of his policy were:

(1) : Expansion and consolidation in the North and realisation of the dreams of Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao I, Balajirao and Madhavrao I of unpurligy the Maratha flag upto the farthest limits of Northern India.

(2) : Secure the person of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II with his willing cooperation and obtain control over the Delhi Empire and the Emperor's affairs which would legitimise his authority and ascendancy of the North.

(3) : Serve the cause of safeguarding the remnants of the Mughal Empire without jeopardising the broader interests of his master, the Peshwa and further the Maratha cause in a bid to concert the Maratha efforts in a joint bid to establish the hold of Maratha confederates under the semblance of central authority of the Poona Government led by the Peshwa.

(4) : to secure the friendship and neutrality of the British for the time being so that his time and energy would be exclusively diverted in his northern task, and when his resources and power fully established in the North, then he, in league with the Poona authorities and other Indian powers would attempt a trial of strength and diplomatic manouevre with the English and reduce or drive them away from the native land;

(5) : to bring the Rajputs, the Jats, the Rohillas, the Bundelas under submission and made to pay tribute and *chauth*:

(6) : to secure a working arrangement with the sikhs and friendship and neutrality of Taimur Shah Abdali so as to avert any invasion, subversion and disturbance from the North-west or the trans-Sutlej Punjab.

(7) : He could not count on the support from Nana Phadnis despite his frequent entreaties to the latter to send him reinforcements and money. The two leading generals sent by Nana, viz, Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur proved more a source of weakness and suspicion rather of strength and unstinted cooperation to Mahadji and created misunderstandings between the Government and Mahadji. His problem was to fraternise them and dispel their misgivings.

(8) : The reorganisation of the Imperial administration, subjugation of rebels, revenue realisation from the Crown lands, pay the Emperor's allowance, meet the cost of administration, acquire sufficient financial resources to maintain a large army and De Boignes disciplined crack battalious and solve other problems engaged his attention but he was sagacious, energetic powerful and dashing enough to surmount all difficulties and go ahead undaunted. Fortunately he was assisted by most competent and loyal Captains like De Boigne, Ladoji Deshmukh, Rayaji Patil, Rana Khan Bhai, Ambuji

Ingle, Khanderao Hari, Jivba Dada Bakhshi, Davji Gauli etc. With these ends in view Mahadji set out to accomplish his northern task and realise the dreams of his forerunners. He achieved spectacular success and became the envy of the age. But his glorious adventure was also the last flicker of the candle which illuminated the house of the Peshwa and enhanced the national pride of the Marathas.

It would be apt to spell out the main events of his northern exploits with a view to illustrating the basic principles and plans sustaining the Maratha policy towards the North under his illustrious stewardship.

As soon as the Marathas began to re-establish their power in Hindustan, they were diverted to the important problems in the Deccan which engaged their attention after the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao on 30th August, 1773 and the outbreak of the First war with the English.[1] The Marathas could not even defend their own possessions in the Doab.[2]

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1. Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings, 7th November Nov - 28th December 1774, p. 581; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, Nos. 1018, 1026,1184; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, p. 388; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Jadunath Sarkar Orient Longman, Third Edition, 1964, Vol.3,pp.60,118.

2. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, Nos. 584,626; Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings, 7th November- 28th December 1774, p. 581; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, pp. 60,72.

From 1775 to 1782 the Marathas were fully engrossed in the war of succession at Poona and a war with the English that they could not send any expedition under a Sardar to Hindustan.[1] Even after 1782 when the Peshwa's government settled peace with the English no large-scale expedition could be sent to the north which could match that of Raghunath Rao and Sadashivrao Bahu or even reach the dimensions of the attempt of Ram Chandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna in the north. After 1782, the restoration of the Maratha power in the north was not the concerted handiwork of the authorities of the Poona Government but the outcome of the exploits of adventurous semi-independent Sardars, Conspicously Mahadji Sindia. The efforts of Mahadji Sindia were at first resisted by different factious and forces of the Delhi Government and its nobles till the end of 1788. It was only after De-Boigne's modernisation of Sindia's forces that Mahadji Sindia could organise a massive, disciplined and invincible force to become the master of Delhi.[2]

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[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, p. 60.

[2] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol.7, ed. V.V. Khare, p. 3666; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. III, p. 101.

The only hope of the Mughal Emperor towards setting his house in order lay on loyal and enterprising Peshwa as no other power in India could have faced the English successfully, so the Emperor turned to the Peshwa for help and urged on the need of sending Maratha forces to Delhi. During 1780 and 1781 a number of letters were sent to Poona by Hingne, Peshwa's envoy at Delhi spelling out these developments. Mahadji Sindia's letters to the Poona Court contained details of the same developments. But by 1779 Najaf Khan's victory over Abdul Ahad and other events gave the Delhi Government unity of control and accession of strength. The English too were in the ascendants. The victories of the English forces and the defeat of the Marathas at different places during the years 1780 and 1781 destroyed all chances of an anti-British alliance being forged in India and every Indian power became hostile towards them.[1]

During the years 1780 and 1781 and till the time when Mahadji Sindia signed a treaty of peace with the English, there was futile plotting and intrigues in Delhi.

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[1] *Nana Phadnis Shakawali*, p. 93; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. VII, ed. V.V. Khare, p. 2636; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, (1780-1789), Vol. I, ed. D.B. Parasnis, Bombay, 1913, Nos.10, 24,34.

Being hard pressed by the British in the Deccan the Peshwa was urging on the Emperor to seek Maratha alliance for latters own safety and to join the Peshwa's forces in a war with the English, who had captured Bengal, Oudh, Bundelkhand, Gwalior, Karnatak and were forging an alliance with the Rajput Rajas to lauch a joint attack and conquer the Jat country and Malwa with intentions to move and easily capture Delhi. The Emperor gave many assurances to the Maratha envoy through Najaf Khan and promised to march with his forces against the English after the monsoon. But the Emperor wanted before his move either the Peshwa himself or his best generals should come to Northern India with huge forces so that the English should not dash from Oudh and capture defenceless Delhi.[1] But both the allies did not repose faith in each other.[2]

Mahadji Sindia was confident of the success of such a coalition for some time. He repeatedly emphasised that the forces of Colonel Goddard in Western India and

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1. *Marathavanche Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. XII, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Poona, Shaka 1834, Nos. 7,8,55,56; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol. I 1780-1789, ed. D.B. Parasnis, *Itihasa Sangraha*, Bombay, 1913, Nos. 14,31,34,37, 43; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3, pp. 152-153.

2. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, No. 35; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3, p. 153.

Camac's in Malwa could be defeated and Sindia and Holkar could drive the British forces from Central India and Bhosles from Bengal. There was every possibility of a success in this move.[1] It was expected that the Peshwa would send a huge Maratha army for his North Indian Campaign but the Peshwa was not even in the position to pay the salary of his Delhi envoy.[2]

The Emperor Shah Alam was restored to his capital of Delhi in 1772 mainly through the efforts of Mahadji Sindia. Since that time it was Mahadji Sindia's ambition to take the control of the Imperial affairs but after the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao in 1773 Mahadji remained busy with Anglo-Maratha war for about ten years. Mirza Najaf Khan took the advantage of the absence of Mahadji and started managing the Imperial affairs. But after his death on 6th April, 1782 and the treaty of Salbye which was finalised only after a month, Mahadji was free again to look after the affairs of the Emperor. Only he had to take the charge of the office vacated by Najaf Khan.[3]

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1. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I,Nos.6,9; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3, p. 153.

2. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, Nos.10, 81; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 3, p. 154.

3. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol.7, pp. 2636,3653-3655; *Aitihasik Sruta Lekh*, Itihasa Sangraha, Vol.6, ed. D.B. Parasnis, January 1911, p. 95; *Tarikh-i-Shah-Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p.24; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 138.

After the death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the Emperor immediately tried to seek the help of Mahadji Sindia who was the only rising star on the political scene and could rescue the Emperor from the quagmire of political impasse. The Emperor had become so much impatient to give the management of his affairs to Mahadji that he immediately sent the Maratha ambassador at Delhi to the camp of Mahadji with full instructions on future plans.[1] Hingne wrote to Mahadji that "This is an occasion for you to secure not only monetary gains, but many other solid advantages. Such an opportunity may not come again." Mahadji Sindia took a long time in relieving himself from many problems arising out of the treaty of Salbai. Hingne went to Gwalior from Delhi in the summer of 1783, told Mahadji about the Emperor's position and asked him to take up the charge of the Imperial affairs without any delay.[2] Mahadji could not decide any thing immediately because he knew it for certain that he would not get any help from Poona either in money or troops. He could not rely on the Mughal Court in times of Emergency. Before accepting the management of Imperial affairs he required a strong base in Bundelkhand and a

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1. Tarikh-i-Shah Alam, (Eng. Tr.),p.29; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp. 60-61; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Vol.I, No. 79; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 138; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 207.

2. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol.3,p. 138.

very strong army under his command. For that purpose he had to defeat his enemy, the Rana of Gohad. Mahadji's own army was also not organized for a large scale compaign The only relieving point at this moment was his friendship with Anderson in whom Hastings had big confidence. Till the time Hastings and Anderson were faithful, there was no insecurity to Mahadji although other English like Brown, Macpherson and Kirkpatrick were against the establishment of Mahadji's influence at Delhi Court.[1]

The Emperor had become impatient to make an arrangement with Mahadji and sent his eldest son Mirza Jawan Bakht with Afrasiyab Khan and Mirza Shafi to Agra. There they invited Mahadji for an interview. The Mughals sent Umraogir Gosavi to bring Mahadji and arrange the details of the meeting. In June Sindia marched to Agra and met Afrasiyab Khan. Then both of them went to meet Jawan Bakht. The next day the Prince asked Mahadji to come and take the charge of the administration at Delhi. Mahadji replied that he could not undertake this project just now but would do it after the rains when the Rana of Gohad

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, pp. 138-139.

would be defeated. Mahadji Sindia came back to Gwalior after taking leave of the Prince.[1]

Since the tine of the treaty of Salbye, Mahadji was busy in suppressing the Rana of Gohad. He had captured the strong fort of Gwalior and was creating many troubles for Mahadji. Mahadji encamped at Salbai to defeat the Rana of Gohad. He was finally successful in capturing the fort of Gwalior on 27th July, 1783. He defeated the Rana so severely that on 26th February, 1784 he surrendered Gohad also to Mahadji. A very important incident of this battle was that Sindia came to discover the genius of Benoit De Boigne.[2]

The Britishers also took the advantage of the miserable condition of the Emperor. Warren Hastings had made friendship with Mahadji but as a part of policy he was strongly against the Maratha interference in Delhi affairs and he appointed Major Browne as English Resident

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1. Satara Historical Research Society, Vol.I, Historical Papers of the Sindias of Gwalior, 1774-1794, ed. D.B. Diskalkar, year 1934, No. 69; Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh, Vol. 6, pp. 96-97; Tarikh-i-Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.), pp. 29-30; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp.60-61; Indian Records Series, Browne Correspondence, ed. K.D. Bhargava, Delhi, 1960, Nos. 40,42,43,92; pp.68-91; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, pp. 139-140.

2. Foreign Secret Index, 1783-1784, pp.176,184,262,327; Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.), pp.60-61; Browne Correspondence, Nos,41,48; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 140.

in the Mughal Court in 1782. Browne arrived at Delhi early in March 1783 which created a painful sensation not only to Mahadji and Nana Phadnis but to those Indian powers who now expected a British aggression.[1] On 5th February, 1784 Hingne reported, "Brown had an interview with the Emperor, who had been starving for want of funds. Brown offered to supply his immediate monetary needs in return for his acceptance of British support, so that British overlordship may become an accomplished fact." The Emperor was in a fix whether he should take the help of the Marathas or the English.[2]

Mohammad Beg Hamadani was the Governor of the province of Agra and was strongly against the Maratha interference in Delhi affairs. He had supported the Rana of Gohad for a long time and was a mortal enemy of Mahadji. He opposed the offer of the Emperor to Mahadji and the negotiations of Prince Jawan Bakht with Mahadji. He murdered Mirza Shafi on 23rd September 1783 because Mirza

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1. Descriptive List of Secret Department Records, Vol. VI, p. 62; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp. 63-64; Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 297,299,331, 335; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 6, Nos. 575-578; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi-Rajkaranen, Vol. I, Nos. 101, 105; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, pp. 141-142.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 142.

Shafi was the supporter of Mahadji and the successor of Najaf Khan.[1] Due to this incident an open war started between the two parties. Afrasiyab Khan and the Gosavis called Sindia immediately for help to defeat the rebel Hamadani. Mahadji Sindia immediately sent Ambuji Ingle with forces for their help.[2]

Warren Hastings and his Councillors were watching all these developments. David Anderson who was a good friend of Mahadji, retired in 1783 and his brother James succeeded him. James did not have a firendly feeling towards Mahadji. The English did not like the policy of Hastings of maintaining friendship with Sindia and giving him a free hand in the Emperor's affairs. Hastings did not want to take any decisive action because he knew that his term of office is going to end. He went to Lucknow from Calcutta on 27th March 1784. There he called James Anderson to discuss the affairs of Delhi so that some permanent advantage might accrue in favour of the Company's government.

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1. Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh, Vol.6, pp. 95-97; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I, No.91; Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 266-270; Historical Papers of the Sindias of Gwalior, Vol.I, No. 69; Tarikh-i Shah Alam, (Eng. tr.), pp.30-31; Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.), p.62; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.6, No. 873; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 142.

2. Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh, Vol. 6, p.97; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.)p. 59; Browne Correspondence, No. 73; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp. 66-69.

The Nawab Vazir of Oudh was already under the British. Now Hastings tried to win the Emperor without any armed conflict at Delhi. He also called the Emperor's heir apparent, Mirza Jawan Bakht to his presence. The Emperor was not against making an alliance with the British but he wanted that the British forces hould be permanently kept at Delhi for his security. Hastings wasnnot prepared to accept this demand of the Emperor nor did he satisfy the demands of the Shahzada except permitting him an annual amount of four lakhs for maintenance.[1] When Hastings was returning to Calcutta in August 1784, the Prince went with him upto Benares and took up his abode there where he died on Ist June 1788.[2]

In April 1784 the flight of the Prince Jawan Bakht from Delhi to Lucknow under the protection of the Vazir and the English changed the whole situation. Mahadji Sindia immediately sent his agent Sadashiv Malhar to Lucknow to meet Hastings and ask him as to why he interfered in the Imperial affairs and called the Prince without prior information to Sindia.[1] Hastings wrote on 3rd May 1784, "Sindia at any rate will be jealous of my attempt to engage our government in an interference with the affairs of Delhi, which he considers his prescriptive property. It appears to me that the design of the Prince's visit is to persuade me to espouse his father's cause against Afrasiyab Khan. I am resolved to have no concern in it."[2]

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[1] *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, Nos. 101, 105; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 297,299,311, 335; *Ibrat Namah* (Eng. tr.),pp.63-64; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, pp.142-143.

[2] *Browne Correspondence*, pp. 213-214.

Thus Mahadji Sindia became a firm supporter of the Emperor in his times of need. In the month of August 1784 when Hastings and the Prince were planning joint ventures at Lucknow, Mahadji became free to pay his attention to the Imperial affairs after defeating the Rana of Gohad and securing a strong base at Gwalior and took De Boigne into his service to raise an infantry corps. Hastings went to Calcutta after giving an assurance to Sindia that the English would not interfere in his designs at Delhi.[3]

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1. English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I entitled 'Mahadji Sindia and North India Affairs, 1785-1794', ed. Jadunath Sarkar Bombay 1936, No. 2; Browne Correspondence, No. 74; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), p.64; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 6, Nos. 1043, 1051, 1066; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.I, No.316; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 143; Descriptive List of Secret Department Records, Vol.6, p.78.
2. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, pp. 143-144.
3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 144.

The Emperor and Afrasiyab Khan sent repeated letters to Sindia to come immediately and to oppose the plans of his son Jawan Bakht who had gone under the British protection at Lucknow. So on 5th October, 1784 Mahadji Sindia marched from Gwalior towards Agra where the Emperor was staying. On 24th October Mahadji met Afrasiyab Khan in the vicinity of Fatehpur Sikri. Mohammad Beg Hamdani did not like this action of Afrasiyab Khan and the latter was assassinated by Zainul Abidin on 2nd November, 1784.[1] The Emperor and the whole court invited Mahadji to punish Hamdani immediately. Mahadji immediately despatched his forces to capture Hamdani. The letter surrendered to Ambuji Ingle and was kept in confinement. By this act Mahadji Sindia established his unquestioned supremacy in Imperial politics.[2] Browne reported from Delhi on 12th November: "From Gujarat to Jammu, adnd from Attock to Rohilkhand, there is no power but Sindia and the Sikhs, every thing else is but a name. If they should dispute, the contest will be serious and important should they unite, their strength will be irresistible."

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1. Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh, Vol.6,pp.97,99-100,102; Tarikh i-Shah Alam, (Eng. tr.), p. 33; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.I, pp.151-152, Nos. B 22a, B 22b; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.),pp.66-68; Browne Correspondence Nos. 103,104,105,109,110.
2. Ibrat Namah, (Eng. Tr.),pp.66-69; Browne Correspondence Nos. 111,113,114; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p.145; Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. tr.),p.33; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia,Nos.606,283,289.
3. Quoted in The History and Culture of the Indian People, p.390.

Afrasiyab Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, was murdered by Zainul Abidin on November 2, 1784.[1] The Emperor came to know about this incident on 3rd November. He could not find any man suitable to fill the vacant post of the Regent. Mirza Najaf had left behind four lieutenants. Out of them two, Afrasiyab Khan and Mohammad Shafi were already dead. Mohammad Beg Hamadani was in complete rebellion and Najaf Quli Khan indulged in sensual habits at Delhi.[2] The only other important noble was Abdul Ahad Khan who was a prisoner in Aligarh fort. Major James Brown, the English envoy with them, was hostile to Mahadji Sindia. Immediately James Brown started pressing his anti-Maratha policy on the helpless Emperor Shah Alam through his Persian secretary, Salihuddin and requested him to appoint Abdul Ahad as a regent, disperse the Marathas and continue to rule under British protection as Oudh was being governed.[3] Abdul Ahad reached Agra on 5th November 1784 and was again imprisoned by Shujadil Khan, the *qiladar* of

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1. *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. tr.), pp.66-68; *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 33; *Chandrachud Daftar*, Vol. II, Poona 1934, No. 64; *Browne Correspondence*, Nos. 109-110; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1473, 1494; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, No. B 22a; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 606, 323; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.3, pp. 190-193.

2. *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), Introduction, p.7; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, Nos.77, 84.

3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.6, No.1550; *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), pp.59, 69-70; *Proceedings of Secret Select Committee*, 13 April to 30 June 1784, pp.19-21.

of Agra.[1] There was no one to take up the responsibility of managing the affairs of the Emperor. The Emperor now turned to Mahadji for protection and the management of the Empire.[2] He sent his two trusted personal attendants to the Maratha camp with robes of honour and letters for Mahadji Sindia. Mahadji Sindia suggested to the Emperor to come to Fatehpur Sikri.[3] He sent fifty camels, four elephants and other transport to help the Emperor Shah Alam in undertaking the journey from Agra and promised to send an escort of five thousand horses and four battalion of Sepoys under Apa Khanderao. The Emperor marched from Agra on 10th November to meet Mahadji Sindia in his camp near Fatehpur Sikri.[4] Mahadji was waiting for the Emperor there and offered lavish hospitality gifts and articles for his

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1. Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.),pp. 69-70; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.6, No. 1550; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.I, No. 1320a, p.149; Browne Correspondence, No. 113; Tarikh-i Shah Alam,(Eng.Tr.), p. 33.

2. Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.),pp.69-70; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, p. 408 says that "Mahadji was afraid of British interference in Delhi politics and asked Afrasiyab Khan to keep the Emperor under his contro. Mahadji suggested Afrasiyab Khan that in case of need the Emperor should be arrested but he should not be allowed to go under British Protection."

3. Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), p. 70; Browne Correspondence No. 113; Tarikh-i Shah Alam,(Eng. Tr.), p. 33.

4. Ibrat Namah (Eng. tr.),p.70; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 7, 1785-1787, Calcutta 1940, p. 124, No. 1; Browne Correspondence, Nos.113,114;

comfort.[1] The date 14th November was decided for Mahadji's presentation to the Emperor.[2] Mahadji came to the audience from his camp at a distance of about three miles from the Imperial halting place. He was received and greeted in advance by Shah Alam's favourite son and heir, Prince Akbar Shah.[3] Mahadji paid a tribute of 101 gold *mohurs* and kept his head on the Emperor's feet. The Emperor gave him a royal embrace, seated him by his side and commanded him to take charge of all his affairs and administration.[4]

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Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, No. 7; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p. 33; *Aitihasik Sputa Lekh*, Vo.6, p.104; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, p. 150.

[1] *Ibrat Namah* (Eng. tr.),p.70; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, p. 150.

[2] *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), p.71; *Browne Correspondence*, No. 116.

[3] *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.),p. 71; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 6, No. 1550; *Delhi Yethil Maratha Yanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, No. 120; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 606; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, p. 150; *Browne Correspondence*, No. 116; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*,(Eng. Tr.),p.34; *Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior*, Vol.I, No. 69; *Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh*, Vol. 6, Nos. 104-105.

[4] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 9, ed. V.V. Khare, No.3481; *Ibrat Namah* (Eng. Tr.), p. 71; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 6, Nos. 1550, 1553; *Aitihasik Sfuta Lekh*, Vol. 6, p. 105; *Browne Correspondence*, No. 116; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 145.

On 17th November Shah Alam had a meeting with Mahadji Sindia. He asked Mahadji to take the recengy and regulate his Empire. Mahadji replied that unless he was given the hold of some office in the State how could he administer the realm.[1]

But the circumstances inordinately pressed Mahadji into action very much. There was no Vazir, no commander-in-Chief, no Vicegerent in the capital and the Centre of an Empires government. The Emperor was present but he never commanded any army. There was anarchy everywhere. The soldiers were complaining for their arrears of pay. There was now lawful authority, no commander to enforce order.[2] The intrigues were being planned for the succession to Afrasiyab Khan and the control of weak Shah Alam.[3] Browne reported from Delhi on 12th November, "From Gujarat to Jammu, and from Attock to Bundelkhand, there is no power but Sindia and the Sikhs, every thing else is but a name. If they should dispute, the contest will be serious and important, should they unite, their strength will be irresistable."[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Sputa Lekh*, Vol. 6, p. 105 says that "the Emperor said that I cannot rely upon any one so you make the arrangement but Mahadji says that I need money. The loan is not available so how can I stay here"; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, No. 120; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.6, Nos. 1550-1553; *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 71; *Browne Correspondence*, No. 16.

[2] *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 116-120; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.6, Nos. 1550, 1473; *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 606;

[3] *Ibrat Namah* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 71-72; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 6, Nos. 1550,1553; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I,p.150.

Mahadji came to know about all these conspiracies and undertook measures to counteract and foil the plans of his adversaries secretly and patiently. He defeated Mohammad Beg Hamadani on 10th November and removed this source of danger. When Shah Alam went to Maratha Camp on 16th November, Mahadji established his control on the camps of the Emperor and Afrasiyab Khan by sending his trained battalions around them. "Without his permission none can go from one camp to the other, none can visit the Emperor, none can leave the Emperor's camp."[2]

Mahadji Sindia had many private meetings with the Emperor on the problems like regulation of government and on repeated British requests to invite the fugitive Prince

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[1] Quoted in History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, p. 390.

[2] Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I, Nos. 120, 117; Browne Correspondence, Nos. 114,116; Appendix, p. 271; Proceedings of Secret Select Committee, 2nd October to 28th December 1784, p.23.

Jawan Bakht to Delhi at the command of four trained sepoy battalions and give them a vast dependency. There was an urgent need to find the large amount to maintain the Emperor's household and to pay regularly the huge armies collected in his name.[1]

On 30th November Mahadji accompanied by the Emperor and all the collected troops, the English envoys Anderson and Browne and their staff marched to Pingora. On Ist December the Emperor appointed the Peshwa as his deputy (*Naib-i-Munaib*) as well as Commander-in-Chief (*Bakhshi-ul Momalik*) in the public *Darbar* and proclaimed that none else but Mahadji should be the permanent agent of the Peshwa in handling the real functions of these exalted offices. The Emperor gave to Sindia *khilats* and many kinds of rich presents too were conferred on the Peshwa commensurate with the new post as well as complimentary robes for the

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1. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 369; *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 73; *Poona Residency correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 7.

Peshwa's agent Nana Phadnis were to be sent to Poona.[1]

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[1] *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 342-344; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 106, 132-133; *Ibrat Namah* (Eng. Tr.), p. 72, *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 34; says that "the title of *Wakil-i Mutlaq* was conferred on the Peshwa along with the *Mahi Maratib* etc. and the deputyship on Mahadji Sindia; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 9; *Foreign Secret Index* 1783, 1784, pp. 279,329 ays that "the office of *Wakil-i Mutlaq* was conferred on Sindia as a representative of the Peshwa." *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, p. 148, *Browne Correspondence* , No. 117 says that "His Majesty summoned me to hs presence to meet Sindia and to be witness of his receiving the *khilat* of *Vakil-i Mutlaq* for the Peshwa which was given in charge to him to forward to Poona together with the *Mir Muratib* and other honomary insignia. His Majesty at the same time told Sindia in Public Darbar that he constituted him as the Peshwa's representative, supreme manager of all the affairs of the Empire"; *Fort William India House Correspondence*, *Foreign and Secret*, Vol. XV, 1782-1785, p. 336; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, No, 1541 states that "On 17 Muharram (December) a *seven piece khilat* for the office of *Wakil-i Mutlaq* was bestowed upon the Peshwa together with the *Mahi Maratib*, flag, drum and other insignia. In a few days the *khilat* is expected to be bestowed on Sindia. The chiefs of the Deccan are now at the helm of Imperial affairs." Nos. 1519, 1596, Vol. 7, No. 309; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, pp. pp. 145-146.

On 3rd December another Darbar was held at Halena where the Emperor conferred on Mahadji Sindia the post of Regant plenipotentiary (Vakil-i Mutlaq), the highest dignity and post in the possession of Imperial government directly and exclusive for himself without any reference to the Peshwa. When Mahadji came to his camp after being appointed as Dictator of Delhi Empire, his troops lined the whole route and fired sabites and all the officers gave *nazar* in his camp.[1]

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[1] *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.I, Nos.133, 106,127; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, p.9; *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.),p. 72 says that "On 4th December 1784 the Emperor held a public Darbar and before all made Sindia regent (Mukhtar) for *mal* and *mulk* and Regulator of the Emperor, with the titles Walil-i Mutlaq, Umdat-ul-Umara, Makhtar-ul-Mamalik, Farzand-i Alijah, Maharajadhiraj Srinath Mansur-i-Zaman with gifts, with the *Subahdari* of Agra and Delhi and *qiladari* of all the imperial forts." *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 342-343; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 6, Nos.1541 1596, 1533, 1550, 1519; *Browne Correspondence*, Nos. 117-118. These letters state that "This morning Sindia was invested with the *khilat* as *niab* to the Peshwa for the Supreme administration of the affairs of the Empire of Hindustan. He received on the occasion Chaun Kub which is never given but to the Vazir or the Vakil-i Mutlaq and a Malki which has never been given but to His Excellency the Vazir, even in this reign and before was sacred to the royal family."; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 34; *Fort William India House Correspondence*, *Foreign and Secret*, Vol. XVI, 1782-1785, p. 558; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, Nos. 296-298; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.3, pp. 200-201 says that "the post of *Wakil-i Mutlaq* was filled up only thrice in the long annals of timurids, once under Akbar, once under Shah Jahan and the last time under Bahadur Shah I."

Mahadji wanted to increase his own power by the prestige of the Emperor's presence with his army so he suggested to the Emperor to camp in Jaipur territory so that its Raja who did not pay the tribute regularly and usurped some crown-lands, would be forced to pay money and restore the lands. But the Emperor returned to Delhi.[1]

Mahadji sent Anand Rao Narsi and Raja Deshmukh Bahadur with the Emperor to stay at Court with Shah Nizam-uddin and manage all the affiars with the Emperor's consent.[2] The Emperor ordered all the officers of Afrasiyab Khan to go and obey Mahadji's orders. On Mahadji's request, the Emperor appointed Rana Khan Bhai as Mukhtar of the property of Najaf Khan and Narayan Das the diwan of Crown-lands. The robes of Khan-i-Saman vice Maulvi Ataullah Khan were given to Khande Rao. Ambaji was appointed faujdar of Sonepat and other places and Karori and mint master of Delhi.[3] He

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1. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 34; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 411.

2. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 35; *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 411; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol. I, No. 138 says that 'Ladoji Shitole, Murar Rao Daulat, Anand Rao Narsi, Kesopant and Mathamal Munshi were appointed as Karbharis of Delhi, No. 127 says that Ambaji Ingle was appointed in charge of Delhi and Sikh Affairs; No. 204; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 11, says that the management of the affairs at capital has been entrusted to Ambaji.

3. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 34.

was appointed incharge of Delhi and Sikh affairs.[1] All the expenses of the Emperor's household were provided by Sindia.[2] The Emperor was greatly pleased with Sindia.

The place of Halena was in the possession of Lokendra Singh who was a dependant of Jaipur. The fort was stormed in three days. Ranjit Singh Jat and Pratap Singh Naruka had decided about the quardum of their tribute with Mahadji Sindia, the new Imperial agent, and had gone to their homes. on 11th December Mahadji marched to Ramgarh fort. The fort was held out for a week and on 18th December the garrison capitulated and was captured.[3] The Jaipur Raja also sent his agent to Mahadji Sindia with proposals of tribute which were accepted by him.[4] The Emperor under the leadership of Mahadji Sindia marched towards Dig on 28th December and established his camp outside the fort on 3rd January 1785 where they encamped for two months.[1]

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[1] Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I,No.127.

[2] Tarikh-i Shah Alam,(Eng. Tr.), p.34; Delhi Yethil Maratha Yanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I, No. 217; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 411.

[3] Ibrat Namah (Eng. tr.),pp. 72-75; says that "Ranjit Singh Jat sent his son with his Bakhshi, who was his premier, to Mahadji and settled his tribute to Sindia's satisfaction and presented him with the gun-Atak (the largest in India) which Suraj Mal had taken from the Marathas." Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.),p.35.

[4] Ibrat Namah (Eng. tr.), p. 72; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, No.7; Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I, Nos. 126-133; Browne Correspondence, No. 113 says that the tribute with Jaipur Raja was fixed at 22 lakhs.

Though Mahadji was the Regant of the Empire and the Captain-General of the forces, he had received only two sheets of paper with the signature of a titular Emperor. He did not capture even a single inch of the Imperial territory beyond the land where his camp was established. The royal seats of Delhi and Agra were captured by his predecesor's men. The Sikhs had also created disturbances in the environs of Delhi and northern parts of the Doab. The Rajputs were also trying to shake off the Maratha rule. Mahadji had to take the possession of all the royal forts, official treasuries and the Crown-lands if he wanted to be wanted to be the deputy of the Emperor in anything more than the name. First he thought that with the order of the Emperor he would receive the adjuncts of Mir Bakhshi's office so he waited for some time but afterwards he realised that he could capture his due rights only by force in the troubled affairs of Delhi.

By the end of the year 1784, he was in a debt of eighty lakhs due to his campaigns against the English,

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1. Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.),pp.72-74; Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. tr.), p. 34; The History of the Reign of Shah Aulum, W. Franklin, Allahabad, 1934, p. 40.

Malwa and Hindustan." His own force of thirty thousand men with powerful artillery had cost him seven lakhs of rupees in a month while the troops of Himmat Bahadur and Afrasiyab Khan had increased three lakhs of his monthly army expenses. The Emperor's maintenance incresed the expenditure of one lakh and thirty thousand rupees every month.[1] With the posts of Vakil-i-Mutlaq and Mir Bakhshi, Mahadji was legally entitled to the possession of all the royal forts, to get payment of the fixed tributes from the vassal princes and to receive the revenue collection from the Crown-lands. The incharge of the royal treasuries and stores were supposed to give him the account for what they were holding on behalf of the State.[2]

The posts of Mir Bakhshi and Vakil-i Mutlaq were not the bed of roses for Maha dji Sindia. Sindia had to face a number of enemies in Mughal court as well as in Poona Court. Mahadji had suggested to the Emperor to give

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 24; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), pp. 34-35; *Delhi Yethil Maratha Yanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, No. 217 *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 511; *The History of the Reign of Shah Aulum*, p. 142 says that twelve lakhs of rupees were given to support the King's household; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, pp. 146-148.

2. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 147.

these symbols of power in the name of the Peshwa appointed Sindia as his deputy. But on Mahadji's request the Emperor had written the name of Mahadji and not of the Peshwa on the basis that the Peshwa was at a long distance and the Peshwa would consider only Mahadji as a responsible officer on the spot. This explanation of the Emperor and the consent of Mahadji for it gravely hurt Nana Phadnis who analysed that Mahadji wanted to establish his independent power. This ill-feeling continued for a long time and affected the Maratha interests in North India.[1]

Mahadji Sindia faced the new situation with firm determination. Firstly he attacked the fortress of Dig which finally surrendered on 30th December, 1784. Shuja-ud-din, a relation of Afrasiyab Khan, was in possession of Agra fort. After a strong resistance, the fort of Agra was secured on 26th March, 1785. The Subahdari of Agra was given to Akbar Shah, the Emperor's second son and the deputy ship to Lodoji Deshmukh, Sindia's son-in-law. Rayaji Patil was appointed the Governor of the fortress.[2] The fort of

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3,pp.145-146; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.VIII, p. 258.
2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 10,11, 12,13; Descriptive list of Secret Department Records, Vol.6, pp. 34,36,51,62,75; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.7, No. 17 says that 'Sindia is busy in seizing the forts belonging to late Najaf Khan and in making the settlement of the Country; Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.), pp.72-75; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 354,364-365; Browne Correspondence, No. 138.

Aligarh was in the possession of Jahangir Khan, brother of Afrasiyab Khan. After a long siege Rayaji Patil captured the fort on 20th November, 1785.[1]

During the monsoon of 1785 Mahadji encamped at Brindawan near Mathura. The Emperor went to Delhi. Sindia directed all his affairs from Mathura[2] Mahadji fixed a sum of one lakh and thirty thousand rupees monthly for the expenses of the Emperor.[3] He appointed his own son-in-law Ladoji Deshmukh Shitole to be in immediate attendence on behalf with Shah Nizam-ud-din, a personal favourite of the Emperor.[4]

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[1] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos.11,13,15, 16,17,18,19, Letter No. 18 states that "Mahadji received intelligence of the surrender of Aligarh. The terms granted to Jahangir Khan are that he shall retain possession of all his private property and that a particular jagir in the district of Koil of about fifty thousand rupees annually shall be granted to him. He is not to have the possession of any fort. He shall repair to the camp to give an account of all the property belonging to the late Amir-ul-Umara." Descriptive List of Secret Department Records, Vol.6, pp. 62,63,65,69-70,75-76,97,184; Ibrat Namah (Eng.Tr.) p.75.

[2] Poona Residency Correspondence, vol.I, No.13; Tarikh-i-Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.), pp.34-35; Ibrat Namah(Eng. Tr.) p. 75.

[3] Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.), p. 34.

[4] Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. tr.), p. 35; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.I, Nos. 138,204; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No.411, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, No.12.

During his difficulties Mahadji Sindia was not given the support and cooperation of the Peshwa's government which he required to face them. Nana Phadnis doubted that Sindia wanted to be independent and wrote to him letters asking for explanations. With the result a permanent conflict arose between the two main figures of the Maratha State which came to an end only after the death of Mahadji. Mahadji wrote to Nana, Ahalya Bai and others to send funds or a loan whenever he was in need but he never received any.[1]

Sindia now turned his attention towards the Sikhs. A treaty of peace was finalised between Ambaji and the Sikh Chiefs through the mediation of the Macheri Raja, Pratap Singh. The Sikhs agreed to receive one-third of whatever acquisitions were made by the joint action of both the parties. The firends and enemies of both the parties would be the same. A final agreement was made between Mahadji and the Sikh chiefs on 10th May that if the Sikh chiefs joined Sindia with five thousand cavalry

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.7, No.26; New History of the Marathas, Vol.III, p. 148.

they would receive a *jagir* worth ten lakhs.[1] They would not create any disturbance in the dominions of the English and the Nawab of Oudh who were the friends of Sindia. Though some Sikh chiefs became friends of the Marathas, the others continued to create problems for them. Mahadji took preventive measures against those Sikhs by sending forces under Dharrao Sindia.[2]

All through the year 1785, Mahadji had to fight against a number of enemies. His forces were engaged in fighting at different places like Aligarh, Raghogarh, Jaipur and the Khichi country of Malwa.[3]

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 245, 42,212,227,243-44; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 4,11,13,17,25,26,30; *Descriptive list of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, 1785-1786, pp. 19,20,51,82,83,87,98,99,103; *Ibrat Namah*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 74.

2. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, No.245 gives the terms of the treaty between Ambaji and Khalsa Sikh Sardars, Nos. 42,44,212, 227,243,244; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 4,11, 13, 17,25, 26,30; *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, 1785-1786, pp. 19-20, 51,82,83,87,98-99, 102-103.

3. *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, p. 91, Mahadji Sindia wrote to the Governor-General demanding tribute from Bengal, p. 142. Sindia intends to march against Raja of Jaipur, p. 168; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 150; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 7, No. 340.

Mahadji's main concern was to capture Raghogarh because it commanded the strategic areas of northern and Central India. The Khichi Rana of that place was a Maratha vassal and paid tribute to Holkar but the present ruler Balwant Singh refused to pay the tribute. Mahadji Sindia sent a large force under Ambuji Ingle to seige the fort of Raghogarh. The seige continued for one year. Finally Raghogarh was captured and Balwant Singh was made a prisoner in Gwalior fort. Later on friendship was established with him and he was treated kindly.[1] In June 1785 Mahadji Sindia had to deal with the two nobles - Gosavi Umaraogir and Anupgir. For about ten months they created troubles for the Marathas. Mahadji Sindia sent Devji Gauli in April 1786 to chastise them. They were defeated and all their jagirs were confiscated and finally they found refuge with the Nawab Vazir of Oudh.[2] Some other chiefs like those of Banda, Kalinjar and Caharkhari in Bundelkhand who had created troubles were also quickly defeated. The Ingle brothers, Khanderao Hari and De Boigne provided conspicuons

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, No. 119, says that 'Sindia's troops were sent to reinforce the detachment against Raghogarh'; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 150; Ibrat Namah (Eng. Tr.) p. 81.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos. 29,39; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 7, No.487; Ibrat Namah, (Eng. tr.), pp.80-81; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 473; Descriptive List of Secret Department Records, Vol.6, pp.97,219, 222, 258.

service in suppressing these rebellions.[1]

Rajput War : Battle of Lalsot:

In 1785 the main problem which overwhelmed the mind of Mahadji was the reduction of Jaipur. Prithvi Singh, the Raja of Jaipur died on 16th April 1788. He was succeeded by his brother Sawai Pratap Singh although Raja Prithviraj had left behind a son named Mansingh who was then about six months old. The problem become more acute when a Jaipur vassal, Rao Raja Pratap Singh Naruka declared himself independent at Macheri in the vicinity of Alwar. He became the enemy of the Jaipur Raja and secured the good will of the Emperor and now became a good friend and associate of Mahadji in his task of settlement.[2]

The Jaipur Raja had been a vassal of the Emperor and the Marathas. The Jaipur Raja could not pay the tribute due to the Emperor and the Marathas. When Mahadji Sindia became the supreme administrator in the Imperial government,

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1. Ibrat Namah(Eng. Tr.),pp.77-78; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 407,478; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos. 21,37,92,119. No. 92 tells that "Appa Khanderao, the chief whom Mahadji had deputed against Bundelkhand, having settled matters with the Rajas of that country, had in consequence received from them several hostages as a security for the fulfilment of their agreements."

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 150.

he claimed the payment of the arrears. The Jaipur Raja refused to make any payment as he maintained he was not in a position to pay. Instead he secured the support of Raja Bijay Singh of Marwar and Mahadji's enemy Hamdani. He also made efforts to seek armed help from the Emperor, the Nawab Vazir and the English.[1]

Mahadji took up the challenge and early in 1786 marched with the Emperor into the territory of Jaipur and encamped at Sanganer, seven miles south of Jaipur. He demanded from the Raja the arrears of tribute amounting to three krores. Discussions were held through intermediaries about the settlement of the amount and it was agreed that Jaipur Raja should pay sixty-three lakhs of rupees.[2] Mahadji Sindia and the Emperor returned to Mathura and Delhi respectively leaving Rayaji Patil in the territory of Jaipur to recover the dues.[3]

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No.101; *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, pp. 95,142,168,208,214; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 151; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, entitled 'Sindhia as Regent of Delhi' 1787 and 1789-91, Eng. tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, ed. P.M. Joshi, Bombay, 1954, pp. 5,8 says that the Jodhpur Raja sent a promise to give assistance to Mohammad Beg Khan.

2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.34,37; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.),p.35; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII, p.393.

3. *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 172, 190; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p. 35.

Jaipur Raja sent his agents to Bijay Singh of Marwar to seek his armed support and also tried to secure British help against Sindia but he could not be successful in seeking British help because the English had already adopted the policy of non-interference in the disputes of Indian powers.[1] The Raja of Jodhpur entered into a defensive alliance with Jaipur to give him armed support.[2]

Mahadji Sindia was compelled to accept the challenge. He immediately called Khanderao Hari from Bundelkhand and Ambuji Ingle from the cis-Satlaj campaign.[3] He prepared himself for the coming struggle by joining the Emperor, suppressing the Mewatis and taking proper measures against the Sikhs.[4] Sindia himself marched against Jaipur from Dig on 10th March, 1787. On 5th April the agents of Jaipur Raja met Sindia and proposed to pay the tribute amounting to twelve lakhs but Mahadji Sindia declined the offer.[5]

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[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos.564, 1442, 1513.

[2] *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, pp.5,8; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), p. 35 says that the Raja of Jodhpur had reached for the help of Jaipur Raja with 20,000 troops.

[3] *Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No. 172; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 152; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 36.

[4] Holkar Shahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol. I, Nos.182,186.

[5] *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, pp. 184,208; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p.152; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 36.

Again the negotiations were started by Sindia but no agreement could be arrived at between Mahadji Sindia and the Jaipur Raja.[1]

From the very begnning the prospects of Mahadji Sindia were not good because his Hindustani troops had little loyalty to wards him. His soldiers started defecting due to arrears of pay. But the worst disaster which happened was the desertion of Mohammad Beg Hamadani on 27th May.[2]

The Rajputs took the advantage of the weakness of Sindia and they came out of their entrenched position. Sindia also marched to Lalsot on 15th June 1781 which is situated at about thirty miles south-east of Jaipur. By the middle of June Khanderao Hari from Bundelkhand and Ambuji Ingle from Patiala and the two battalions of infantry trained under De-Boigne joined the forces of Sindia.[3] For about a month both the parties tried to seek an advantageous point to win the battle. Finally a battle was fought between the Marathas and the Rajputs on 28th July on the plain of Tunga, about fourteen miles north-west of Lalsot. In this battle Hamadani was killed by a cannon-ball.[1]

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[1] Holkarshahi Cha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No. 190.

[2] Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. II, ed.P.M. Joshi, entitled, 'Sindia as Regent of Delhi, 1787, 1789-1791,Bombay,1954, pp.1-2,6; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 7, No.1572; Tarikh-i Shah Alam, (Eng. tr.), p. 36.

[3] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos.112,115, 117,119, 122; Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. tr.),pp.36-37.

The Rajputs indulged in self applause and considered the Battle of Tunga as their victory but neither they captured even a single fun of Mahadji nor a single prisoner from his army. Mahadji Sindia saved his army by his retreat.[2] The terror experienced by the generals of Sindia who called it a second Panipat betrayed the inadequacy of the strategy of Sindia. The developments which took place after the battle made the position of the Marathas critical. About seven thousand Hindustani troops asked for their arrears of pay at gun-point and they were not ready to hear any appeal. Mahadji dismissed the rebel troops and allowed them to join the Rajputs.[3] He tried to relieve himself from

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1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, No. 1553; *Holkarachi Kaifiyat*, pp.17-18; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, ed. P.M. Joshi, Vol.II, entitled '*Sindia as Regent of Delhi*, 1787 and 1787-91(Eng.Tr.), by Jadunath Sarkar, Bombay,1954,pp.3,9-10; Vol. I, p.159 says that 'Nearly 500 men were slain and wounded on the two sides together at Tunga', *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. . 36-37.

2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 142, tells about the retreat of Mahadji from Lalsot; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 1547,1574 say that confusion and disorder prevails every where due to retreat of Sindia's army.

3. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 7, Nos.1569,
(Contd.......

this difficult situation and started his retreat on Ist August. Mahadji destroyed his baggage and camp equipment which could not be removed, so that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. He removed the ladies and non-combatants safely to Gwalior.[1]

After his retreat fom Lalsot, Mahadji first marched towards Dig[2] from where he went to Macheri territory. He stayed there from the end of August to the beginning of 2nd November 1787.[3] During this period Ismail Beg, a nephew of Hamadani, seized Agra city from the Marathas on 16th September but Lakba Dada boldly resisted the attempt of

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1574-1575; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 145,154; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, p. 163; Vol. II, pp. 11-13; *New History of the Marathas* Vol. 3, p. 155; *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p. 37.

[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.145,154, 155,156,179; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 1554,1575; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, No. 226; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. II, p. 14, Vol. I, p. 156; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 155; *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.) p. 37.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.146,148, 151-152,154-156,159; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 7, No. 1554; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. II, pp. 13-15, Vol.I, p. 163; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), p. 37.

[3] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 162,178-79; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.164,176 *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3,pp. 155-156; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 38.

Ismail Beg to capture Agra fort.[1] On 27th August Ajmer was also captured by the Raja of Jodhpur from the agent of Mahadji.[2]

Thus the defeat of the Marathas in the battle of Lalsot brought a set-back in the ascendent career of Mahadji. The power and prestige, enjoyed by Mahadji and the Emperor was lost for the time being. But Mahadji Sindia never lost heart and lacked courage or thought of giving up his Imperial charge.[3]

Hingne, the Peshwa's agent at Delhi sent immediately the full account of Mahadji's defeat to Poona. The enemies of the Marathas started creating problems every where.[4] Ghulam Qadir, the eldest son of Zabita Khan,[5] had overrun the whole territory of Doab which was in the possession of the Marathas[1] and captured the whole property which was recently seized from him. Ghulam Qadir reached Delhi to oppose Mahadji's rule there. Ladoji Deshmukh and Shah Nizamuddin left their posts and on the night of 24th August, 1787 they retreated from Delhi and were plundered on the way by the robbers.[2] Ghulam Qadir met the Emperor. The helpless Emperor fearing an attack from Ghulam Qadir invested the letter with the offices and powers of Amir-ul-Umara and Mir Bakhshi, hitherto held by Mahadji Sindia in the beginning of September.[3]

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[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.165-166, 173-175, 177-179; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1660-1661, 1925-1926, p. 167; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, p. 159.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 195; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, 164.

[3] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 156.

[4] *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, pp.159-160; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 1560,1563,1564,1568.

[5] *Descriptive list of Secret Department Records*, Vol. 6, p. 21; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 56,59,154; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.159-160,168,172,175; *Calendar of Persian Rorrespondence*, Vol.7, No. 334.

Ambaji Ingle who was sent to plunder the Jaipur territory was severly defeated and compelled to go to Alwar. Ismail Beg and Ghulam acted unitedly and established their control on Delhi and the surrounding country. The

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[1] *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I,pp.159-160; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos.133,143; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos.1785, 1560.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 148,159, 160-162,175; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1650, 1659,1553,1595,1596,1598,1599,1616,1662, 1632; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, No. 160; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.),p. 38.

[3] *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, 3rd October, 1787, No. 14; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 149,179; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 1785,1933,1649,1648; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, p. 170.

Emperor asked the Rajput princes and the other chiefs to send immediate help.[1] Mahadji Sindia himself moved from Alwar on 28th October to relieve the Emperor from his pitiable condition and sent Ambaji Ingle to meet the Emperor and bring him to the Maratha Camp. But the Emperor was so much frightened by Ghulam Qadir's threats that he declined the invitation of Mahadji for help and Ambaji returned disappointed from Delhi on 14th November. After that Mahadji did not take any interest in the Emperor's affairs and diverted his mind in planning the measures for his own safety.[2]

The Emperor thought that the Prince Jawan Bakht may relieve him from his troubles so he invited him from Benares where he was residing on British Pension.[3] In December

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[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 170; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, Nos. 244, 1932,1616,1630; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, p. 166; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol. I, No. 232; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), pp. 40-41.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No.154,183,186, *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 38; *Persian Records Of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp. 168, 170-171, 176.

[3] *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 186; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), p.41; *Delhi Yethis Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol. I, No.232; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, p. 170.

Jawan Bakht reached Delhi but instead of relieving the Emperor from his troubles, he started planning to suppress his father and seize the sovereignty. The Emperor gave him the Subahdari of Agra which was in the possession of Ismail Beg and to be friendly with Ghulam Qadir[1] but he failed and finally went under the British protection in February 1788.[2]

Hearing of the retreat of Mahadji from Lalsot, Cornwallis immediately marched from Calcutta to check any breach of peace, talked to the Prince Jawan Bakht at Benaras[3] and went to Lucknow with him. Here the envoys of Jaipur Raja and Mahadji ment him and asked for British armed support. But Cornwallis adopted complete neutrality on his part as the best course for ~~the~~ serving the British interest.[4]

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 198-204, 200; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), pp. 41-42; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.171-172, 177,189; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p.157.

2. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), p. 42; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 198,200,204; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.171-172,189; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I,No.261.

3. *Descriptive list of Secret Department Records*, Vol.6, pp. 62,83; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p.157.

4. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, pp. 170, 174, 183; *New History of the Maratha*, Vol. 3, p.157.

The Maratha rule in North India was threatened not only by Rohillas, Rajputs and Mughals but also by the Afghans. Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur appealed to Timur Shah Abdali to fight against the Marathas and offered the passage through his territory if the Sikh created any problem for Abdali at Lahore. The Jodhpur Raja entreated Timur Shah that if he could not come himself, Shahzada Humayun should be sent to invade India. But the danger was forthwith averted because Timur Shah showed his inability to come himself or to send Humayun Shah due to pre-occupations else where.[1] Hingne, the Maratha envoy at Delhi, wrote a letter to Nana, "The two enemies of the Emperor are Abdali and the English. Abdali is far away and is not likely to come to Delhi. The English are near by and very clever too. But they are awaiting instructions from London. If they enter Delhi politics, India is lost to us. We should therefore control Delhi so that we can assert our right over Bengal.[2]"

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1. Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raikarnern, Vol. I, No. 266; Descriptive list of Secret Department Records, Vol. 6, pp. 177,184; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, No. 24.

2. Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raikarnen, Vol. I, No. 238; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. 7, No. 1554 says that "Mahadji despatched letters to various chiefs including Peshwa, Nizam, Nana Phadnis for their assistance in this critical situation.

On 17th August 1787 Mahadji wrote to Nana Phadnis about his embarrassing situation and appealed for help, "Having retired from Jaipur and sent away my heavy baggage and non-combatants to Gwaliar; I am now employing my light cavlry in harassing the enemy. My sore need is money. The Emperor's allowance is now nine months in arrears. He doesn't care to join me and without his presence in my camp, I possess neither power nor prestige. If you can manage to despatch some efficient troops and a considerable amount of money, I shall soon be able to recover the lost ground, particularly as such a support from Poona will bring our enemies here to their senses. Just now the whole atmosphere has been anti-Maratha, not only the Rajputs, but the Rohillas, the Nawab Vazir and even the British are trying their hard against us, almost a repetition of the days of Panipat. It is essential that we should impress upon all that the Maratha power is still sound and solid."[1]

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[1] Quoted in *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 158; Aitihasik Patravyavhar, No. 267 says that "A huge amount has been spent. There is no sahukar. Such is the difficulty."; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 200 says that " Sindia has raised several lakhs of rupees on loan sihce he came in the neighbourhood of Gwalior but he has distributed from it a very small portion of the arrears due to his troops." *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. II, p. 15.

These letters of Mahadji reached Poona in the end of Augusst 1787 and the Maratha forces of the south had just come back after a campaign against Tipu.[1] Nana Phadnis immediately sent the forces under Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur and others to relieve Mahadji from his trouble and also sent five lakhs of rupees to replenish the resources of Mahadji. These Sardars had to leave on 8th September but they reached Mahadji Sindia after more than a year. Ali Bahadur reached Mathura to meet Mahadji on 6th November 1788 and Tukoji Holkar in April 1789.[2]

Nana Phadnis committed a mistake by sending Tukoji Holkar to the North because he was averse to cooperate with and was hostile to Mahadji. Haripant Phadke was also asked to go to the North to help Mahadji instead of Tukoji Holkar but he refused. Tukoji Holkar created many problems to the Maratha interests and made conspiracies against Mahadji not only while he was coming to the North but throughout his stay in that area during the next seven years. The Poona Ministers expected the Mahadji would bring huge amount of

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 158.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 208, 220,223,237; Aitihasik Kirkol Prakarne, Part I, Nos. 6, 8; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 158.

money due to his authority at Delhi which would be shared by them but when Mahadji asked for monetary help from Poona, their dreams were completely shattered.[1]

After having failed in his efforts to relieve the Emperor from the hands of Ghulam Qadir, Mahadji had gone to the south of Chambal by the end of December 1737 leaving the whole territory of Delhi.[2] The only Maratha forces which were left in the North of that river were those which were defending Agra and Aligarh. Mahadji was not prepared to take a fresh offensive unless reinforced by men and consolidated his position in Malwa. By the end of March Mahadji had collected enough strength to resume his operations north of the Chambal after suppressing the rebels in the area of Gwalior and getting reinforcements from Jamgaon on 16th March under the command of Devji Gauli.[4]

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, pp. 158-159

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 190,195; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 160

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 190, 195; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 160.

4. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, Nos. 201, 196,200,205,208; Aitihasik Kirkol Prakarne, Part I, No. 3 says that Rana Khan Bhai has been sent across the Chambal; Holkarachi Kaifiyat, ed. K.N. Sane, p. 21; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 161.

Now Sindia tried to recapture Agra which was under Ismail Beg.[1] Rana Khan crossed the Chambal and started recovering his lost position with the help of Ranjit Singh and Rao Raja of Machedi. Rana Khan attacked Ismail Beg near Bharatpur. There were sharp encounters between the two forces near Bharatpur from the middle of March to the end of April, 1788 in which the Marathas were at a loss. Ismail Beg and Ghulam Qadir attacked Bharatpur and Dig but remained unsuccessful.[2] The Maratha forces under Deoji Gauli, De Boigne and Rayaji Patil recaptured Marthura and Brindavan and defeated the Rohillas at Kot and Lahaban. The Marathas crossed the Jamuna into the Doab in pursuit of Ghulam Qadir. They plundered the city of Aligarh. Ghulam Qadir immediately retired to protect his own dominions from the threats of the Marathas. Ismail Beg was left alone at Agra and he was defeated by the Marathas on 17th June in a decisive battle.[3] He first went to Ghulam Qadir and then to

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 198; *Holkarshicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 196; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp. 177-178.

2. *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. tr.), p. 48; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 208,210,209, 212-213, 216-217; *Calender of Persian Correspondence* Vol. 7, No. 1661; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. I, pp. 172-190.

3. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 222,223; *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Nos. 196-197; *Aitihasik Kirkol Prakarne*, Part I, Nos. 3,8; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), p. 42.

the Emperor at Delhi but he was sent back from Delhi by Himmat Bahadur.[1] Rayaji Patil pursued Ghulam Qadir and defeated him when he came out of Aligarh. Ghulam Qadir retreated to Khurja with his small force. On Ist July he reached near Delhi and made an agreement with Ismail Beg to enrich both by plundering the royal treasury.[2]

After his victory on 18th June, Mahadji went to Mathura and captured his old camp on 4th July. Ranjit Singh Jat met him there and revived his old friendship and offered cooperation in his future plans. Mahadji now turned his attention towards the Emperor's affairs.[3] The Emperor was in a great trouble. He requested Sindia to come to Delhi.[4] Mahadji Sindia sent Ravloji Patil and Bhagirathrao Sindia with two thousant force. They met the Emperor on 8th July but failed to get his support. They immediately fled to Faridabad from Delhi with Himmat Bahadur. The Marathas could not control the situation and left the Emperor to his fate.[5]

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1. Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.),p. 42; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Vol.I, Nos. 304,303; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 527.
2. Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.), pp.42-43.
3. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 162.
4. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos. 97,225; Aitihasik Patravyavhar, No. 266; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.I, pp.190-191,193-195.
5. Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.I,pp.191-198; Tarikh-i Shah Alam (Eng. Tr.), p. 43.

The Emperor was forced to accept all the demands of Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg on 15th July. On 18th July Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg captured the city and on 30th July took possession of the fort and the palace inside. On 31st July Ghulam Qadir deposed the Emperor Shah Alam and on 1st August he enthroned Bidar Bakht, the son of Ahmad Shah.[1] Ghulam Qadir inflected all sorts of torture and dishonour on the royal family and finally blinded the Emperor Shah Alam on 10th August.[2]

Now a conflict started between Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg over the division of the spoils. The letter separated himself from Ghulam Qadir and joined Mahadji Sinda.[3] In September Mahadji received the reports about the happenings in Delhi and he immediately organised an expedition to reassert his power. On 28th September the Marathas captured old Delhi and the city proper on 2nd October. Ghulam Qadir escaped from the fort on 10th October.

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.228-229; *Aitihasik Patravyavahar*, No.266; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p.43; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.191-198, 201-202.

2. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.I, pp.197-199.

3. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos,232,233,234; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol.7, 764,765,788, 1553; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p.43; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, Nos.309,312,325.

The next day Himmat Bahadur, Ravloji Sindia and Rana Khan entered the fort and found the Emperor in a miserable condition. On 16th October Rana Khan restored the blind Emperor to his throne with every mark of honour.[1]

Now the pursuit was started to capture Ghulam Qadir.[2] Rayaji Patil, Deoji Gauli, Jivba Bakhshi and later on Ali Bahadur went into the Doab. The Marathas captured the fort of Aligarh from the Rohillahs on 20th October. Ghulam Qadir took shelter in Meerut fort which the Marathas besieged for six weeks. Ghulam Qadir escaped from the fort on 17th December[3] and went into hiding with a few followers into the house of a Brahim at Bamnauli. The Brahmin conveyed this news to Ali Bahadur who captured him on 19th December and sent him with other prisoners to Mahadji's camp at Mathura on 31st December. For two months Mahadji tried to extract from him the hidden treasure.[4] Then under the orders of the Emperor, the culprits were blinded and put to death on 4th March.[1] Shah Alam profusely thanked Mahadji and rewarded him by issuing three *farmans* which were the following: (1) "The Peshwa is to be *Mukhtar* (Regent of the Emperor) on condition that the deputyship of this post and the *Vakil-i Mutlaq* should be held by Sindia, generation after generation. (2) Mathura and Vrindavan are granted to the Peshwa as *inam* altamgha. (3) The prohibition(*manouqat*) of cow killing is ordered."[2]

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[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence,* Vol.I, Nos. 235,238, 243,, p. 334; *Aitihasik Patravyavhar,* No. 274; *Tarikh i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 43-44.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos.233,235, 243,240.

[3] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 240,242, 243; *Aitihasik Kirkol Prakarne*, Part I, Nos.8,10-15.

[4] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, Nos. 241,243; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. X, ed. V.K. Rajwade, No. 308; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 44-45.

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1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, No. 244; *Marathvancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.10, No. 308; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. tr.), p.45; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raikarnen and a Supplement*, ed. D.B. Parasnis, No. 5.

2. Shah Alam composed a threnody of Persian verses in which he described his miserable plight and afflictious that he received at the hands of Ghulam Qadir and expressed profuse thanks to Mahadji Sindia for the redress of the wrongs done to him. A couplet from it runs as follows:

مادهوجی سندهیا فرزند جگربند من است ۔ مصروف تلافی ستمگاری

Translation of a Historical Poem of the Emperor Shah Alam's M H. Husain, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911 (VIII), pp 471 473

3. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, p.227; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No.572; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raikarnen*, Vol.I, No.393; *Aitihasik Tipne*, Vol.IV, pp. 28-29; *Historical Papers of Sindhia's of Gwalior*, Vol. I, No. 242; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raikarnen, & a Supplement*, No. 16; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.2, No. 150; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. XI, 1794-1795, *Delhi* 1969, No. 1522, pp. 374-375, Vol. IX, No. 574; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 9, pp. 4583-4586; 4622, No.3482.

The different Maratha envoys in the north and specially Hingne and Mahadji Sindia sent full reports of all these incidents to Poona.[1] Sindia was even ready to go from the administration in the northern India if it failed to get the approval of the Poona Government. The position of the Maratha forces had become very critical before the middle of 1788. The forces of Mahadji were busy in fighting since 1780 without getting any support from Poona.[2] Mahadji expected that after the arrival of the force from Poona under Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar the situation would be improved. But the reinforcements reached only in August 1788 when the tregedy with the Emperor had already taken place.[3]

Ghulam Qadir's mother and brothers retreated with his spoils towards Kunjpura and took shelter with the Sikhs. Rayaji Patil and Ali Bahadur pursued them and seized their spoils. The Rohilla possessions of Ghausgarh, Aligarh and Saharanpur were also captured by the Maratha forces. Mahadji

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1. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, p. 21; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindhia*, Nos. 536-537.

2. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindhia*, Nos. 535,536,537,539,540,554; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 167.

3. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.2,p. 22.

Sindia gave this task to Ali Bahadur to conduct these measures and to establish regular administration so that he could give the management of all Maratha activities in the north to Ali Bahadur.[1]

But the arrival of Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar did not relieve Mahadji from his difficulties. Mahadji soon found that Ali Bahadur was not loyal to his policy due to the evil influence of Tukoji Holkar. Even Sindia's secretary Appaji Ram wrote to Nana that Ali Bahadur did not possess the capability to maintain order and establish peace in the disturbed atmosphere of North India. Nana Phadnis tried to instigate Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar against Mahadji Sindia and ruined the prestige of the Marathas in the north. He should have taken a bold step being the representative of the Central Government of the Marathas. If Nana was not satisfied with the policy of Mahadji, he could send some more efficient and effective Sardar in his place. But Nana was aware of the fact that there was no one more competent than Mahadji who could be entrusted with the charge of the northern India and he made effort to put a check on Mahadji by adopting objectionable and pernicious methods and way to stell the progress of Mahadji's bold endeavours.[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Patravyavhar*, Nos. 274-275; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.10, No. 308; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No. 566; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 368,375, 381, 389; *Historical Papers of Sindhias of Gwalior*, Vol. I, No. 159; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 167.

Neither the Poona Court nor Ali Bahadur tried to solve the problem in the north. Ali Bahadur refused to accept the charge of Delhi affairs. Nana wrote to Ali Bahadur on 21st December, 1788; "Administration of the territories will be weakened in the absence of Mahadji and you may court a failure."[2] Tukoji Holkar was sent by Nana Phadnis to give help to Mahadji in his difficulties after the battle of Lalsot. He marched from Poona in September 1787 and arrived at Mathura in April 1789 and wasted his time on the way. Tukoji Holkar demanded from Mahadji half share in the latter's newly conquered territories. Mahadji agreed to share his conquests with Tukoji Holkar on condition that he would share the expenses in equal proportion, maintain good relations with Sindia and help him in all his undertakings. Tukoji Holkar became offensive and said

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, pp.163-169; *Aitihasik Tipne*, Vol.4, p. 19; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 535,536,539-540, 554,517,557,602; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 266, 244; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 2, No. 150; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 2, pp. 21-23.
2. *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, No.20; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.8,p.400.

that, "We are two equal brothers of a joint concern. One member of a family manages the home, the other goes out and earns but they both become equal sharers in the property." Even Ahilyabai tried for reconciliation between Sindia, Holkar and Ali Bahadur but could not succeed.[1]

When in 1784 Mahadji Sindia became the supreme administrator of the Imperial affairs at Delhi, he demanded from the Governor-General Macpherson the arrears of tribute from Bengal as to _chauth_ payable to Bhosle and the Emperors tribute. In reply James Anderson who was staying with Mahadji was instructed to intimate Sindia that his interference in such demands would be considered as direct hostility and the breach of the treaty between the English and the Marathas. Mahadji Sindia realised the whole situation and after giving some vague explanations closed the affair because he was not prepared to fight with his English friends.[2]

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1. _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. 3, pp. 169_170; _Holkarachi Kaifiyat_, p. 23; _Aitihasik Kirkol Prakarne_, Part I, Nos. 6, 8; _Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen_, Vol.2, 1790-1794, ed. D.B.Parasnis Itihasa Sangraha, Bombay, 1914, No. 5.

2. _New History of the Marathas_, Vol. 3, pp. 203-205.

After the defeat of the Maratha forces under Mahadji at Lalsot, Mahadji sent letters to Poona to send forces for his help. Nana Phadnis sent Tukoji Holkar because he was the only man available who was familiar with the affairs of Northern India. Ali Bahadur was also sent with Tukoji Holkar. When these forces reached the north they started disturbing the unity of Counsel and command which Mahadji had effected until then. Nana had asked Mahadji Sindia to pay for the troops of Ali Bahadur but Mahadji was himself facing financial problems and could not pay the troops of Ali Bahadur. A conflict arose between Mahadji and Ali Bahadur. Nana had ordered Ali Bahadur to go to Bundelkhand after finishing the work of Mahadji and to recapture the Maratha posts there which were seized by the rebels. Tukoji and Ali Bahadur were instructed to consider themselves independent of the authority and not as subordinate to Mahadji. This created a friction and Mahadji was never happy with Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur Tukoji demanded a share in the new conquests of Mahadji but the latter asked for the payment of the expenses which he had incurred on these victories. These problems led to heated discussions between the two parties for a very long time.[1]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, pp.205-206; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II,pp.21-23; *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 535-536, 539-540, 554, 517, 557,570-571, 602; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol.2, Poona Affairs,1786-1797 (Malet's Embassy),ed. G.S. Sardesai, Bombay 1936 No. 140; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, (Contd.)......

Before 1788 Sindia had reestablished the Maratha power in north India. He encamped in Mathura for a few months and suppressed the remaining independent chiefs of Hindustan by putting them against one another. But in the months of June and July 1789 Mahadji suddenly fell seriously ill. For a moment his life was despaired of Even the British Resident Palmer wrote on 25th June 1789 that if Mahadji Sindia died, the Maratha power and influence in north India would be completely wiped out and the forces of Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar would not be able to effectively maintain Maratha authority in the north and to control the Mughal government.[1]

Sindia's illness could not be properly diagnosed. After an inquiry it was disclosedthat a black majic was performed by a woman at the instigation of Gosavi brothers for the disaster of Mahadji. Later on it was found that the letter had come to a secret agreement with Ali Bahadur in a plan to remove Mahadji from his position with the

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Supplement, Nos. 30,43; *Historical Papers of Sindhias of Gwalior*, Vol. I, No. 159; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, No. 371.

1. *Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings*, 8th July 1789, No. 5; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, pp. 400-401.

Emperor and to put Ali Bahadur in his place. The Gosavis took the advantage of the open dispute between Tukoji and Mahadji and tried to ruin Mahadji.[1]

Mahadji besieged the camp of Gosavi brothers and arrested Himmat Bahadur. But when he was being taken to Mahadji's camp, he suddenly escaped and went into the camp of Ali Bahadur. Ali Bahadur refused to surrender Himmat Bahadur to Mahadji without getting instructions from the Peshwa. Tukoji Holkar and Nana also supported Ali Bahadur in refusing to surrender Himmat Bahadur to Mahadji. Sindia wrote to Nana that "It is surprising that you should help a man who tried to murder me. This is against brotherly relations." Later on Nana wrote to Ali Bahadur to surrender Himmat Bahadur to Mahadji and finish the matter and not to give him any help either with money or forces.[2] He ordered him not to conduct independent negotiations with the Rajputs or other chiefs because Mahadji was totally responsible for the management of affairs in northern India. Nana also

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, pp. 206-207; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 561; Aitihasik Tippa, Vol.4, p.19; Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos. 238-239,250,258; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.II, p.25; Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen, Vol. 2, No.4; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.I, Nos.251-252.

2. Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No.561; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, pp.207-208; Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, Nos.250,238-239,258; Persian Records of the Maratha History, Vol. II, pp. 25-28.

advised Tukoji Holkar to accept the leadership of Mahadji.[1]

During this embarrassing situation Mahadji pacified Tukoji Holkarbby giving him *jagir* of ten lakhs in north India and pleased Ali Bahadur by giving him the district of Aligarh (Koil).[2] But Ali Bahadur did not change his attitude and asked Mahadji not to keep his hands on Himmat Bahadur and remove the guard from detaining his family. In the end of January 1790 Ali Bahadur asked Mahadji to settle the matter of Gosavi saying that 'If the Peshwa sent a robe of honour to Himmat Bahadur what face would be left to him.' On 6th February 1790 Sindia went into the camp of Ali Bahadur where Himmat Bahadur was introduced to him. Sindia pardoned all his offenses, presented him a robe of honour and set free all his family members.[3]

Mahadji had entered into an alliance with Ismail Beg to defeat the enemies of the Marathas. But after some time Mahadji found that there was a secret understanding

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p.208.

2. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.2,pp.26-28; 24; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, No. 371; *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 570-571; *Holkarachi Kaifiyat*, p.23; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen, Supplement*, Nos.30, 43; *Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior*, Vol.I, No. 159.

3. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, pp.25, 28-29, 34-35.

[1] developed between Sindia and Ali Bahadur. Even Ismail Beg was not happy with his alliance with Sindia because he thought that Sindia had a hand in Kashi Rao Holkar's seizure of some of his posts in Mewat. Though Ismail Beg defeated the intruders but he expressed his feelings before Mahadji saying: "If you want to dismisse me, say so, and I shall go else where for service. If you want to fight me, come on. But do not set other people against me."[2] Finally Ismail Beg joined the Rajputs in February 1790.[3]

Mirza Muzaffar Bakht, son of Jawan Bakht, claimed to the heir apparent of the Emperor and reached Poona in 1789 and asked for the Peshwa's help for being installed at Delhi. Since he could not get the support of Mahadji, Nana Phadnis could not help him alone. So he died in frustration in 1794.[4]

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1. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II,pp.41-43, 45-47.

2. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol.I, No. 371; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 570-571; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, pp.28-30; 32-34; *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen* Vol.2, Nos. 7,19.

3. *Maheshwar Darbarachi Batmi Patren*, Vol.2, ed. D.B. Parasnis, Bombay 1911, No. 189; *Delhi Yethil Marath-Vanchi Rajkarnen. Supplement*, Nos.25,29; Poona *Residency Correspondence*, Vol.I, pp. 367-370; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, No.431; *Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior*, Vol.I, Nos. 238,243; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.2, pp.26-30.
4. *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, Nos. 594,596; *New History of the Marathas*.Vol.3,pp.216-217.

During 1790 and 1791 the various Sardars of Mahadji were busy in establishing the administration in different parts of the country and in suppressing the recurring disturbances. Khanderao Hari sieged Kanod where the wife of Najaf Quli had challenged the authority of Mahadji with the help of Ismail Khan[1] and Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur,as she came to know of the internal conflicts between Sindia and Holkar. In February 1790 Mahadji entered into a separate treaty with Pratap Singh of Jaipur who conceded to pay an annual tribute of fifteen lakhs regularly.[2]

Thus Mahadji was successful in establishing complete Maratha supremacy in the north upto Sutlej. Due to the achievements and vast military resources of Mahadji, Taimur Shah Durrani, the ruler of Afghanistan sent proposals of peace to Mahadji. An agreement was made on the problem of Punjab among the Marathas, Sikhs and Afghans. The territory between Lahore and Attock was given to the Shah, the Sikhs were permitted to exercise their control between Lahore and Sutlej and the Marathas to the south of that river.

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1. *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol.I, Nos. 263, 267; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Supplement*, No. 31; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3,p. 217.

2. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, p.22; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.3, p. 217.

Thus the main point of conflict which was ~~affecting the~~ Maratha Afghan relations since a long time was finally solved. Mahadji and Taimur Shah agreed to help eachother in case of danger. The Afghan ruler agreed to help Sindia with ten thousand cavalry in case of need. It simply indicated that Sindia had brought the Marathas to a respectable position as a formidable power commanding awe and high prestige in northern India which ultimately led to the boosting of the honour and the splendour and dignity to the Peshwa's position.[1]

Now Mahadji had to deal only with two enemies, Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur and Ismail Khan. Ismail Khan had joined Bijay Singh.[2] The Maratha forces under the best generals like Gopalrao Raghunath, Jivba Bakhshi, Ambuji Ingle, Kashi Rao Holkar and Pratap Singh of Machedi with De-Boigne's powerful brigades reached Patna where the Rajputs had entrenched themselves. After a decisive battle on 20th June 1790, Sampat Singh, the Raja of Patna, surrenderd

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1. Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 864; New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 217.

2. Maheshwar Darbarachi Batmipatren, Vol.2, No. 189; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Supplement, No. 25; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.II, pp. 26,29-30, 35.

the fort. Ismail Beg took flight to Jaipur with only fourteen men.[1]

But the Rajputs resumed the offensive. Mahadji sent his generals to destroy the Rathor territory. Bijay Singh started separate negotiations with Tukoji Holkar to create a rigt between the two Maratha Chiefs.[2] On 21st August the generals of Sindia besieged Ajmer fort and captured the town of Ajmer and the fort of Taragarh the same day. The Maratha forces captured Sambhar, Rupnagar and other posts in the Jodhpur territory of Bijay Singh and finally encamped at Mertha. On 10th September De Boigne suddenly opened his artillery on Rajputs. Gangaram Bhandari surrendered the Merta fort to the Marathas.[3]

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[1] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 368-370; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, No. 431 *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, No. 297; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 45-47; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Supplement*, Nos. 25, 29; *Maheshwar Darbarachi Batmi Patren*, Vol. 2, Nos. 200-201; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 2, pp. 31, 36-37; *Historical Papers of Sindia of Gwalior*, Vol. I, Nos. 234-236, 237-238, 240, 243.

[2] *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, p. 218.

[3] *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, pp. 829-830; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, No. 737; *Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. I, Nos. 243, 246, 249, 256, 292; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. II, pp. 37-40; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, pp. 219-220.

The misunderstanding of Mahadji with Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar be grimmed his prospects in Rajputana. Mahadji had tried to win over Ali Bahadur for expedition against Jodhpur by giving him two lakhs of rupees but Ali Bahadur recalled his forces from the battle field of Merta. Ali Bahadur had also taken presents from the Raja of Jaipur when the forces of Sindia were fighting at Patna.

In the same way Sindia had tried to get the help of Hokar against Jodhpur by granting him the territories in Saharanpur and Mewat but Tukoji Holkar recalled his forces from Merta. While his forces were coming back they had created trouble for the chief of Kishangarh who was a friend of Sindia.[1] A reconciliation was almost impossible between these three chiefs - Sindia, Holkar and Ali Bahadur because they were not ready to work unitedly for the common cause of the Marathas in North India.[2] Mahadji wrote to his agent in the Deccan: "Holkar and Ali Bahadur who were described by you as our brother and nephew have behaved in a questionable manner. How can we remove suspicions from our minds? We are serving the government to the best of our

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1. Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rai Karnen, Vol.2, Nos. 7,12,70; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.II, pp. 45-47, 41-43, 29; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No, 578, p. 862; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.8, p. 403.

2. Delhi Yethil Marathavanchi Rai Karnen, Vol.2, No.19; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol.2, pp.37-38, 41-43, 45-47.

ability. The two Sardars should be asked to do their duty. It is impossible for us to work together any longer."[1]

Mahadji Sindia despatched his forces to capture Jodhpur, the capital of Rathors. The Jodhpur Raja Bijay Singh started negotiations with Sindia through his agent Budh Singh. Finally on 6th January, 1791 the following terms were agreed upon:

1. Bijay Singh had to pay in instalments forty lakhs of rupees in one year.
2. A tribute of twenty lakhs was imposed upon the Raja and for this amount Sambhar, Parbatsar and two other *mahals* were given in assignments. The amount was to be collected in four years.
3. In addition, Ajmer fort was to be restored to the Marathas who would then hand over Merta to the Raja.[1]

The Jaipur Raja also made an agreement with Sindia in February 1791 through the mediation of his minister Rodoji Khawas.[2]

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1. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Supplementry, No.4; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.2, pp. 46,43; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, pp.855-857,864; *Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior*, Nos. 252,260,269,275,292.
2. *Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen*, Vol.2,No.7; *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia*, No.591, pp.862-865; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, No. 1344; *Persian Records of Maratha History*,Vol.II, pp. 46-47; *Historical Papers of Sindia of Gwalior*, Vol. I, No. 258.

Ismail Beg was the only enemy of Mahadji Sindia in North India yet to be dealt with Najaf Quli, the only supporter of Ismail Beg, died on 23rd August 1791. The Widow of Najaf Quli invited him to take the possession of Kanud. But before the arrival of Ismail Beg at Kanud, Khanderao defeated him on 4th December, 1791. Ismail Beg successfully escaped to the fort of Kanud. Khanderao besieged Kanud and on 16th April, 1792 Ismail Beg surrendered to Perron.[1] Ismail Beg was kept in confinement in Agra fort where he died in 1799.[2]

Thus by the end of 1791 the whole Northern India from the Narbada to the Sutlej came under the nominal control of Mahadji Sindia and a wide measures of settled political order was established there. Now Mahadji Sindia decided to go to Poona.[1] When he reached Pushkar,[2] in March 1791, Bhim Singh, the Rana of Mewar, appealed to him to save the State from internal disputes. The Maharana, through his agent Zalim Singh of Kota, gained Mahadji's help in recovering Chittor which was captured by Bhim Singh Salumbar. On 17th November Bhim Singh surrendered the fort and promised to pay an indemnity of twelve lakhs.[3]

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[1] Tarikh-i Shah Alam, (Eng. Tr.), pp. 45-46; Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.2, Nos. 23, 25, 29, 44, 46; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos, 575, 600-602; Delhi Yethil Marathyancha Raj Karnen, Supplement, Nos. 55, 57-58, 60, 62, 70, 73-75, 80; Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior, Vol. I, Nos. 322, 325, 341, 343-344; Persian Records of Maratha History Vol.2, pp. 57-58.

[2] New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, p. 221; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Jadunath Sarkar, Vol.4, Orient Longmans, Ist edition 1972, p. 46.

Sindia now left his Northern dominion and marched for Poona on 6th January 1792.[4] He reached Ujjain on

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[1] Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, No. 596; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. II, p. 52 says Mahadji said that " My going to Peshwa is Supreme over all other matters. Unless I go there, most of our affairs cannot be righted."

[2] Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen, Supplement, Nos. 18,19; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 2, pp. 47-48.

[3] Holkarshahicha Itihasachi Sadhnen, Vol.I, No.261; Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Raj Karnen, Vol.II, Nos. 38-39, 41, 45; Delhi Yethil Marathvanchi Rajkarnen, Supplement, No. 50; Maheshwar Darbarachi Batmi-Patren, Vol.II, Nos. 221, 229, 205; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.IX, No. 1344; Historical Papers of Sindias of Gwalior, Vol.I, Nos. 287, 310; New History of the Marathas, Vol.2, pp. 221-222; Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, p.874.

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21st January enroute to Poona.[1]

During the absence of Mahadji, Ambuji performed his duties in the North. Mahadji sent Gopalrao Raghunath and Jiwba Bakhshi with troops towards Mathura for the settlement of affairs of Agra and Delhi regions.[2] The departure of Sindia for the South marked the beginning of the process of disintegration of the Maratha power in the North.

After the rains Mahadji came out of Ujjain and reached Poona on 11th June passing through Malwa, Nemad and Burhanpur.[3]

(*Continued from previous page F.No.4.*)

4. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. X, 1792-1793, Delhi 1959, No. 534, pp.106, 20; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, p. 56.

[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, 1792-1793, Delhi 1949, Nos. 1575, 1250; *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Raj Karnen*, *Supplement* Nos. 83,57; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.),p.46.

[2] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1344, 1575; 1250; *Historical Papers of Sindia of Gwalior*, Vol.I, Nos. 287, 310; *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol.II, p.55.

[3] *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IX, ed. V.V. Khare, ~~pxx480xx~~ Miraj, 1916 p. 4501; *Tarikh-i Shah Alam*, (Eng. Tr.), p. 46.

When Mahadji Sindia reached Poona, the Allies' war with Tipu Sultan also came to an end at the same time. The indirect result of this war was that the British power became very important in the Indian politics and Maratha prestige was lowered to some extent. Now the main task before Sindia was to counteract this effect. At this time Sindia proved himself to be the most powerful Indian Chief and the foremost champion of the cause of India's independent self-rule. He was one of those Chiefs of the House of the Peshwas who had developed the Maratha power, founded by Shivaji, to a position in which the dreams of Shivaji and Bajirao I to establish Hindupad - Padshahi were fulfilled as Mahadji Sindia had entricated Emperor Shah Alam II from the British control early in 1772, restored him to his ancestral throne at Delhi as a Maratha protage though complying with the Imperial regelia of outward obedience and regard to the susceptibilities of the Emperor. He thereby raised the Maratha prestige to a position which could not be achieved by any other Maratha leader.[1] Therefore within a period of twenty years many important changes had taken place in Indian politics and now the British had appeared as a new enemy of the Marathas. Mahadji considered the rising power of the British as the most dangerous and focussed his attention

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol, 3, p. 225.

at resisting the British Supremacy. Only few people were aware of the gravity of the danger, but Nana Phadnis at Poona and Mahadji Sindia at Delhi knew this coming danger. It was the main object for which Mahadji had gone to Poona.[1]

The visit of Sindia to Poona had created lot of confusion not only in Maharashtra but in the whole of India. Most of the people had become very curious and considered this event a personal or national danger. Even before he reached Poona, people started thinking about the causes and results of his visit. Most of the people believed that Sindia had established an independent kingdom for himself in north India and would not maintain relations with Poona. He had collected vast treasures and had become very strong due to French - trained battalions with the help of which he had controlled the Emperor. In the same way he would overthrow the Peshwa also. The atmosphere of Poona was full of such type of feelings when Sindia arrived at the outskirts of Poona on 12th June.[2]

According to one view Sindia had gone to the South on the order of the Emperor, who was the complete master

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 225 - 226.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, pp. 226 - 227

of India, to check the further encroachments of the British. Babarao Govind who was a diplomat was trying to organize a unanimous combination of Indian powers to secure Indian independence. Sindia had secured the armed forces trained on European model with the help of De-Boigne Sindia wanted to tell the jagirdars of the Deccan the need of improving their armaments. Everybody had consented that Mahadji Sindia reached a position best fitted to champion the cause of Indian independence against the British. To implement such a move he wante to get the support of the central Maratha Government.[1]

So, except the other objectives, Sindia went to Poona to rejuvenate and re-furbish the Maratha power and to transfuse fresh blood into its organization so that the united power of Delhi and Poona might prove effective in driving away the British.[2]

Sindia declared his main objectives in his visit to Poona were the following: -

1. Sindia wanted to settle his claims of several crores against the Poona Government for the expenses which he had

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 227 - 228.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 228 - 229.

incurred during his expeditions in north India since 1777 under the orders of the Peshwa. (2) He was ready to prove that he did not collect vast treasures by his capture of Delhi and spent them instead of making payment to his master. (3) He also wanted that his disputes with Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Halkar should be finally decided. But the real object of Sindia was to revive and re-strengthen the Maratha Government to face the threatening dangers which surrounded it. Mahadji tried to avoid any armed conflict either with his brother chiefs or the representatives of the outside powers.[1] Nana Phadnis got the help of Malet in case Sindia committed any mischief.[2] A month before Mahadji's death Malet had written: "Permit me to draw your attention to the probable predicament of the Poona Government falling under the administration of a vigorous head in the person of the present Peshwa of an ambitious minister in the person of Mahadji Sindia".[3]

Mahadji Sindia was compaigning in north India and was away from his home since the last so many years. He was repeatedly requesting the Poona Minister that he should be recalled from north India from his thankless

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 229.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, P. 148; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 229 - 230

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 11, No. 204, P. 311; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 230 - 231.

job there. But Nana Phadnis never accepted the request of Mahadji saying that there was no person capable to replace him. Thus Mahadji was resisted from visiting Poona and he enquired several times as to what crime had been committed by him that he should be checked from meeting the Peshwa personally for such a long time. When he was compaigning in northern India, he was blamed to be endeavouring to crave out an independent state and when he reached Poona it was said that he was trying to capture the Maratha Government. He had tried at his level best to solve his disputes with Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar. He wanted to discuss these problems personally with the Peshwa, wanted to reorganize the Central Government so that it may command the obedience from one and all, to remodel the armed forces and to find out proper measures to face the dangers that were fast developing for the State. This important work could be tackled by Mahadji Sindia only. Mahadji Sindia remained in Poona for about twenty months from 12th June 1792 to 12th February 1794 but could not get any concrete results and his ambitious were practically shattered.[1]

When he reached Poona, he was shocked to hear that Nana Phadnis was so much afraid of his visit to Poona that he requested Corn Wallis to get help of the Bombay Regiments which were coming back from Mysore as if he wanted to begin a civil war in Poona to defeat the only man Mahadji who could have protected the State in the most difficult situations. It was this policy of the Poona Government of securing British help to safeguard its power which was bitterly criticized by Mahadji and he tried his best to counteract it.[1]

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[1] New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 231 - 232

When Sindia went to Poona, the people thought in different ways. Some were of the view that Mahadji was jealous of the increasing power of the British and their influence at Poona and Hyderabad so he wanted to establish his own authority at Poona to resist the British control. Other thought that Mahadji wanted to capture the territory of Nizam Ali and few believed that his main aim was to check Holkar's interference in his past conquests in north India.[2]

Malleson had said that Mahadji had defeated the Musalmans and his Hindu enemies with the help of the troops organized and disciplined by the De-Boigne. He wanted to secure more achievements with their help.

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 231 - 232; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 11, P. 148.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 232.

Malleson said that 'The great dream of Mahadji's life was to unite all the native powers of India in one great confedency against the English. In this respect, he was the most farsighted statesman that India has ever produced. It was a grand idea capable of realization by Mahadji and by him alone and which but for his death would have been accomplished. Mahadji's successor Daulatrao also for a time entertained such a dream".[1] Since the dream of the Marathas were never fulfilled, history cannot forget the single attempt made by Mahadji Sindia to secure the independence of the Maratha State.[2]

The Politicians at Poona could not understand the situation properly and did not have any clear idea of the aims of British as Mahadji had. Sindia wanted that the young Peshwa should independently take the charge of the Maratha Government and frame up a strong Central authority so that he could command obedience from one and all. Nana Phadnis hated Sindia due to his increasing power. With the result Sindia remained unsuccessful in getting willing support in the organization of the Maratha State. The activities of Mahadji Sindia at Poona

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1. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 232 - 233.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 232 - 233

created agitation in the Courts of Nagpur and Hyderabad. Mahadji considered himself capable enough to tackle the situation and face the British power boldly whenever he would get a proper opportunity. Malet repeatedly warned the British authorities about the risk of a war with the Marathas.[1]

Sindia reached Poona early in June and was welcomed by the Peshwa personally on 13th June.[2] Sindia also paid his formal visit to the Peshwa on 13th June. On 14th June Sindia went to the Peshwa and requested him to accept the titles and dresses which he had brought for him from the Emperor.[3] They were accepted by the Peshwa on 21st and 22nd June in the Darbars organised in Poona. Nana Phadnis and his supporters freely attended all those functions.[4]

In Poona Mahadji got many opportunities to talk to the Peshwa about the main affairs and problems of the Maratha State and the role which the Peshwa had to play in his capacity of being its responsible master. Nana Phadnis and his supporters immediately noticed the influence of Mahadji on the young Peshwa. Nana felt so much

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 233

2. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IX, P. 4583; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 233 - 234.

3. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IX, PP. 4583 - 4584; No. 3481; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 235

4. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IX, PP. 4583 - 4586; No. 3482; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 235-237.

jealous to Mahadji that in order to avoid an open conflict in the future policy, he planned to retire from public life and to go to Benares to pass his days there in worship and prayer. The discussions which had taken place between Mahadji and Nana in Poona showed wide difference of views and policy between the two. When these conflict reached to a breaking point, Hari Pant Phadke and the Peshwa interfered and brought a friendly understanding between them.[1]

On 20th September Palmer reported to Cornwallis, "that he has been both disappointed and deceived by the Minister, when he has reproached with duplicity in Secret by encouraging his rivals in Hindustan to oppose him, whilst he gave him assurances to the contrary. Sindia has intercepted a letter from Nana Phadnis to Ali Bahadur promising him the Peshwa's authority and support in resisting him and upon this has declared to the Minister that he could place no further confidence in him and would immediately return to Hindustan and maintain his authority there by his own power".[2]

A letter dated 10th February 1793 written from Sindia's camp describes the following details that "There was a time when the example of Maratha rule used to be

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 237 - 241.

2. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 241.

quoted as a sample for invitation. Now thick darkness prevails all around. There is no justice, no enquiry. Everybody is distressed at heart ..... Our Maharaja (Sindia) receives numerous demands for redress of wrongs, but he has to turn a deaf year to these as he has on hand important matters to attend to. We are waiting to see how his efforts turn out. Extreme ill-feeling exists between him and the Poona Ministers ...... Officials here donot relish the Patil's ascenda-ncy. The Peshwa's own kindly sentiments towards him, the blessings of the Common man and the Patil's own uprightness are sustaining him. There is every chance that he will succeed in reorganising the government. If he is enabled to carry out his plans, then alone will the state be saved, otherwise the prospect is gloomy".[1]

When the serious hostilities had taken place between Sindia and Holkar in Rajputana, at that moment the chances of the rupture of the Maratha Government had been visible. But the Peshwa was trying his best to reconcile the hostile parties through discussions with Sindia on one hand and with Nana, Tatya and Parashuram Bhau on the other hand. Nana Phadnis finally left his plan of going to Benares.[2]

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1. Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, pp. 236-239.
2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 241 - 243.

There were long discussions between Mahadji Sindia and Hari Pant Phadke. According to a report Mahadji told Hari Pant that "you are a servant of the Peshwa, and so am I in equal degree. So is also Holkar once brother to me. And this brother was sent to the north to help me. How he acquitted himself in that task you must decide and then tell me if I am to blame. Our Master is yet young and incapable of giving and enforcing commands. There is none to bring Holkar to book. At this very moment he is ravaging my provinces in the north. You know it and yet don't prevent it".[1] Hari Pant replied that strict orders and special agents were sent from Poona to restrict Holkar but he did not pay any heed to it. Mahadji enquired that if Holkar was overlooking the orders of the government, how he could be the servant of the Peshwa. His estate should be confistated. Sindia further said that he was prepared to give such a lession to Holkar which he would never forget. Then Sindia referred the affair of Ali Bahadur who had given protection to Gosavi who was an enemy of Sindia. Sindia said, "If you as the Peshwa's servant cannot restrain him, order me. I am equally a servant of the Peshwa and I will execute his commands. If Ali Bahadur is a servant, he must obey. If

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, p. 242.

not, he must be dismissed. If I am a loyal wervant of the master, I am sure I have the nerve to do the right thing under this blessing".[1]

According to a report from Poona of 15th May a severe dispute arose between Mahadji and Poona administration. When it was about to break out Hari Pant met Mahadji many times and tried to solve the differences. Again Nana and Hari pant not Sindia and tried to defuse the tense situation. The Sindia - Holkar controversy was the main point of dispute.[2]

When Mahadji went to Poona, Holkar was busy in the north in collecting tribute and making plans and measures to crush the power of Sindia by any means. Mahadji had left a major part of his fortes in North India to keep a check on his enemies in different places. Jivba Bakhshi was made the supreme commander of the northern forces with De-Boigne in charge of brigades. The general administration was given to Abaji Raghunath Chitnis and his brother Gopalrao. Ambuji Ingle was posted in Bundelkhand and Khanderao Hari took care of the affairs of the Emperor at Delhi and of the Sikhs beyond. Lakhka

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 242.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 243.

Dada was in charge of Agra Fort. Holkar was jealous to all these arrangements of Sindia and wanted to take the advantage of his absence from the north and to destroy his forces posted in different places.[1]

Gopal Bhau who was in charge of Sindia's affairs in the north was keenly watching the hostile movements of Holkar and was prepared to face every danger.[2] Tukoji Holkar started interfering in the territory of Sindia in the Alwar State.[3] He even began intriguing with the English for help against Sindia. Gopal Bhau and Jivba Bakhshi faced the situation boldly and made a surprise attack on Holkar at Suravali in the region of Sawai Madhop ur, South of the Banas river. The camp of Tukoji was thrown into confusion. The matter was temporarily closed when Bapu Holkar and Parashar Dadaji met Gopalrao Bhau and made a mutual agreement.[4]

The generals of Sindia reported this matter to Mahadji at Poona who was busy in his discussions with

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 245-246; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IX, Nos. 1344, 1575; Persian Records of Maratha History, Vol. 2, P. 55.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, P. 246; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 406; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IX, Nos.1344,1575

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IX, No. 534; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 246.

4. New History of the Marathas, Vol.3, PP. 246-247; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 406; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol 4, PP. 81-84

Poona Ministers regarding the hostile activities of Holkar in the north. The Poona Ministers did not make any effort to prevent this mutual hatred. Perhaps they wanted to use Holkar as a check against the increasing power of Sindia.[1]

The whole situation was suddenly changed when Malhar Holkar, the son of Tukoji Holkar planned to defeat Sindia's army with his light Cavalry. On 29th May, 1793, De-Boigne successfully attacked Holkar's force. The latter took flight to Lakheri, near Ajmer with his remaining army. On Ist June 1793 a pitched battle was fought at Lakheri in which Holkar's forces were routed. The defeat of Holkar decided the Sindia. Holkar rivalry in Hindustan and ultimately led to the ruin of the Maratha State.[2]

When the Peshwa heard the news of Holkar's defeat at Lackeri, he immediately called in his presence Nana and Sindia with others, brought about reconciliation between both of them and asked them to serve the State selflessly without any personal designs.[3] On 21st July,1793

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 247

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 247 - 249 Holkarachi Kaifiyat, No. 64, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, P. 406; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 85 - 95.

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 251 - 252 Mahashwar Darbarachi Batni Patren, Vol. 2 No. 241.

Palmer wrote to Cornwallis from Fathgarh, ".... The three chiefs entered into mutual engagements to reconcile their differences, to support the Peshwa's Government, to confirm the authority of Sindia in Hindustan, to accomodate the dispute between him and Tukoji Halkar, and to enforce the claims of the Maratha State upon Nizam Ali Khan .....[1]"

The envoys of Nizam Ali reported from Poona on 27th September 1793: - "Sindia has settled all his business at Poona argseably to his wishes, his accounts have been signed by the Peshwa acknowledging a balance in his favour of five crores; that he is to have the sole management of affairs in Hindustan, that he is to be furnished with such troops from Poona as he may require in his operations; that he is to do as he likes in regard to Himmat Bahadur Gosavi[2]".

Thus after the battle of Lakheri, all the claims of Mahadji with the Poona Ministers were settled for which he was urging on them since his arrival at Poona.[3] But it was an unfortunate coincidence that he fell seriously ill and died on 12th February, 1794 in his came at Wanavdi, near Poona. A few months before his death he had adopted his nephew's son Daulat Rao, who was then fourteen years old.[1]

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[1] Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 252

[2] Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 251 - Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 1, P. 283; Vol. 2, P. 194.

[3] New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 252.

Mahadji Sindia and Nana Phadnis are the two important persons who dominated the post - Panipat period of Maratha history.[2] Mahadji secured the holy places of Mathura and Brindavan into the Maratha possession and obtained Imperial order prohibiting the Cow-slaughter throughout India. Whatsoever the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and Raja Shahu had demanded in 1713 was practically obtained by Mahadji Sindia by his continuous efforts for about half a century.[3]

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1. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. 9, P. 4609; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. XI, Nos. 189, 227, 231, 233, 253, 259, 261, 327, 262, 348, 415.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 265.

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 267.

Inspite of opposition from the Poona Court and faced with so many difficulties, Madhadji Sindia remained successful in the establishment of Maratha control over the Imperial Government at Delhi andretreaving the prestige lost at Panipat. He secured the legency of the Empire of Delhi with the titles of Vakil-i-Mutlak Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik, Amir-ul-Umra, Alijah, Infant of the throne. But it was not a bed of roses for Mahadji Sindia. The Muslim Peers, the former nobles of Delhi State and their Hindu agents in north India, the Rajput Rajas and even some British Residents turned against Mahadji Sindia as his adversaries. Even the Poona Government did not give him any halp in money or arms in his times of need and insulted him publicly by not accepting the Khilats and costly presents which he had obtained from the Emperor for the Peshwa in December 1784 and leaving those presents lying in Ujjain for many years. But Mahadji tolerated all this very patiently. He was successful in the end with the help of his own devoted Captians, but he had to lose his valuable time and resources for that purpose. If Nana Phadnis had supported. Mahadji from the very beginning, the insurmountable position which Sindia achieved for the Maratha State in January 1789, could have been gained completely four years earlier. If this time of four years spent in needless struggle and reverses would have been spared to him and his efforts might have been more fruitful results of abiding nature to benefit the Maratha state and the nation,[1] and the Maratha history might have been differently written.[2]

The whole life of Mahadji can be divided into four parts. During the first period of pre-panipat days, Mahadji was an unimportant figure. The second period from the day of Panipat to the restoration of the Emperor to Delhi was the time when he achieved the supreme power which enabled him to co-operate with Nana Phadnis and the Poona Ministers in fighting the British power. In the third period he achieved experience of war and diplomacy through his own efforts which he tried in the fourth period beginning with the treaty of Salbai and ending with the victories he achieved in northern India. Mahadji was the greatest political figure among the Marathas who could be credited with realising the Maratha dream of Hindu Pad Padshahi.[3]

After the death of Mahadji Malleson comments in the following words: " By the death of Mahadji Sindia the

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 269 - 270.

2. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 269 - 270

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 271.

the Marathas lost their ablest warrior and their most foresceing statesman. In his life he had two main objects, the one to found a kingdom, the other to prepare for the contest for Empire with the English. In both, it may be said, he succeeded. The kingdom he found, still lives; and if the army which he formed was annihilated by Lake and Wellesley eight years after, it was because of the loss of his guiding hand. Had he lived, Mahadji would have brought under one standard the horseman and the French Contingent of Tipu, the powerful artillery of the Nizam, the whole force of the Rajput and every spear which Maratha influence could have collected from Poona, from Indore, from Baroda and from Nagpur. Even if the final result might not have been attained, the great problem of contest between a united India and the English would have been fairly fought out. As it was, his death settled it. Thenseforth the sinister result was only a question of time.[1]

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[1] Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 272.

CHAPTER - VIII

THE LAST PHASE : DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MARATHA POWER AND INFLUENCE IN THE NORTH.

The last phase of Maratha policy and influence in the North spans the period from Mahadji Sindia's death on February 12, 1794 to December 30, 1803 when the Treaty of Sarji Anjangaon was concluded between the English and Daulat Rao Sindia by which the latter surrendered his North Indian possessions including the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Agra together with the person of Emperor Shah Alam II to the English.[1] It put a seal to the fate of Sindia's north-Indian Empire and at once sounded the death-knell of the Mughal Empire, the Regency of which was wielded by Sindia since the days of Mahadji.

The exit of Mahadji at the cruel hand of death led to laxiety of administration and weakness of state authority in the north. The Emperor too was sore at the aggravating situation. The enforcement of revenue regulations slackened. The nephew, adopted son and successor to Mahadji was Daulat Rao[2] who lamentably lacked the vigor,

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1. A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and neighbouring Countries, C.V. Aitchinson, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1864, pp. 221-225.
2. The Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. XI, Nos. 1190, 189,227,231,233.

dash, determination and the consummate qualities of generalship possessed by his predecessor. The removal of Gopal Bhau from the supreme command of the north-Indian forces and appointment of Lakhba Dada assisted by Jagu Bapu in his place, to the great annoyance of De Boigne, was a blunder.[1]

The new Maratha commander could not expect any help from Poona or his master, Daulat Rao who was too involved in Poona politics while the situation in the north was growing too complex. Instability, unrest and slackness in administrative control in the Delhi Empire emboldened recalcitrant nobles and northern Indian chiefs including the Rajput princes, the Rohillas, Jats to jeopardise Maratha interests. The English too were bidding time to strike at the root of the Maratha supremacy.[2]

The fall of Lakhba Dada due to intrigues at Poona lowered the prestige of Sindia in Hindustan and

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.2, Nos. 234, 238; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. IX, ed. V.V. Khare, p. 814.
2. English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.8, entitled Daulat Rao Sindia and North Indian Affairs, 1794-1800 ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Bombay, 1943, No. 29.

and Ambaji Ingle succeeded him as Sindia's commander in the north but the former was subsequently given a second term of the Viceroyalty in the North and was again succeeded by the latter.

With the advent of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General in 1798 things drifted to an ominous direction as he was determined to captalise on the weaknesses, intervecine struggles lack of direction, divided counsels and inherent contradictions of the Maratha State.[1] The locus stand to intermeddle in Maratha State was provided by the new Peshwa Bajirao II when driven by Jaswant Rao Holkar from Poona, he accepted the subsidiary Alliance of Wellesly by signing the Treaty of Bassein on December 31, 1802. It led to the second Anglo-Maratha War, 1803-1805 and resulted in the loss of Maratha Empire and independence and the dream of the Northern Empire came to naught by the miscalculations and machinatious of a few.

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[1] English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.7, entitled Poona Affairs, (1801-1810) Closes Embassy, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Bombay, 1940, No. 6.

The death of Mahadji Sindia on February 12, 1794 was a turning point in Maratha history. With the exit of this great Maratha chief the main obstruction to the expansion of British power in the north was wipedout. The historians feel astonished at the far-sighted strategy, diplomatic skill, profusion of responsibilities, steady perseverance and infinite resourcesfulness of Mahadji Sindia. The success of Mahadji Sindia mainly depended on De Boigne who joined his service at the end of 1784 and created a dynamic and efficient military machine of vast, mobile forces for him. His loyalty towards Mahadji saved the latter from many ~~many~~ reverses.[1] He was one of the greatest generals that India had ever produced. He possessed excellent presence of mind in times of crisis and sudden dangers.[2]

David Anderson, James Anderson, William Kirkpatrick and William Palmer were the successive British Residents with Mahadji Sindia.[3] They were the persons holding different views on relations with the Marathas but they were reconciled and pacified Macpherson, Cornwallis and John Shore.[1] James Anderson wrote to his successor Kirkpatrick on 5th December, 1786, "Sindia, altho' in the eagerness of ambition he may have committed many imprudences with respect to us, has never actually been guilty of a breach of faith, but has, on the contrary, in the course of our connection given several instances of Common liberality".[2]

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[1] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.VIII, P. 407.

[2] A particular account of the European Military Adventures of Hindustan, 4. Compton, Fisher Union, 1892 P. 106.

[3] English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency correspondence, Vol. XIV, entitled, 'Daulat Rao Sindia and North Indian Affairs,', 1810-1818, ed. J.N. Sarker Bombay, 1951, P. XI, gives the list of British Residents with the Sindians: 1. David Anderson, November 1781 - December 1783 (2) James Anderson, Officiating December 1783 - August 1784 (3) William Kirkpatrick, 20 December 1786 - 15 October 1787. Left Sindia's camp as a protest in April 1787, when his Assistant Ensign James Macpherso officiated for two months. (4) William Palmer, 15 Octobe

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On the other side Kirkpatrick was concerned at the growing power of Sindia. He criticised the British policy of appeasing Sindia and felt sorry ~~that~~ that Mahadji Sindia never faced any opposition from the British in his North Indian expeditions. He suggested that the British should have opposed the establishment of Maratha power in Doab either by arms or by negotiations. He charged that Sindia had moved the Emperor to claim the tribute of Bengal in 1785.[3]

Contd.....from F.N. 3

1787 - September 1797 (5) Paris Bradshaw, 1st Assistant, officiates September 1797 - 10 October 1798. (6) John Collins, 10 October 1798 - 3 August 1803. (7) John Malcolm, 12th January - 13 May 1804 (8) Josiah Webb, 13 May 1804 - dies 9 November 1804.

[1] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, P. 407.

[2] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 1, No. 65, P. 98.

[3] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, P. 408.

Kirkpatrick expressed his views by writing, "Sindia has exprienced so much over-strained complaisance from us, that he may be compared to the spoiled child who after being indulged in a variety of demands cried at last because it could not obtain the moon"[1]. His conduct so much strained the relations between the Company and Sindia that he left his assignment in October 1787 and was succeeded by William Palmer. The letter enjoyed full confidence of the Governor-General Cornwallis.[2]

Mahadji Sindia established and maintained Maratha control and firm grip on North Indian Politic for more than a decade and resurrected the Maratha power to a sublime position which remained anrivalled and matchless. But his death signalled the occurance of a number of tragic events. The Maratha power in the north which had successfully withstood the titanic shocks earlier, was now confronted with a number of hostile forces.[3] The Emperor also realised the absence of a strong person to safeguard his interests. He told Hingne in his confidential talks in May 1794 about certain ills

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1. Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, 28th August, 1787.

2. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 408.

3. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 408.

which were affecting the existence of the Maratha State in the changed set-up. He said, "For twelve years Mahadji served the Emperor unflinchingly without ever disowning the Peshwa's authority over Hindustan. The job of Kulmukhtyari, a delicate one of revenue management, which Mahadji had entrusted to Baloba Pagnis, could not be performed by the incumbent with diligence. Aba Chitnis, therefore stepped into his place and he proved the right man for it. After Mahadji's death Chitnis carried on his job. We were pleased to hear this. But now it is reported that Pagnis had ingratiated himself with the impressionable Daulat Rao and his Lieutment Sadashiv Malhar. And now comes the shocking news that Daulat Rao has insulted Chitnis on Pagnis' advice. So long the Peshwa's decision was to be obeyed without any murder and it is an excruciating experience that the Peshwa could now no more restrain his servant from interfering with Chitnis' work. The Maratha interests in the north would suffer irreparably if all these unseemly wrangles were allowed to thrive with impunity. The Cohesion of the Marathas in the north showed signs of cracking up which must have emboldened the disaffected elements to take advantage of the situation. The Peshwa must maintain control over Hindustan in order to keep in check the fleeting elements".[1]

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[1] Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen, Vol. 11, Nos. 121,120,133,199; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, PP. 408-409, Hingne Dafter Vol. 2, No. 97.

On the death of Mahadji Sindia, the Peshwa had appointed Daulatrao Sindia, the adopted son of Mahadji to take his place. The Peshwa conferred on him a khilat and assigned him the management of the affairs of Hindustan.[1] After Mahadji Sindia the affairs of North India had been disorganised. Mahadji had maintained harmony and balance in his ministry by assigning civil administration to the Deshastha Brahmins and the control of the army to Shenvi Brahmins. But his successor Daulatrao Sindia did not maintain that harmony which gave rise to caste rivalry and proved disastrons to the Marathas. The men of the Deshastha group as Aba Chitnis, Krishnoba Chitnis and Gopal Bhau had better administrative capability and political understanding then Shenvis. Out of sheer ignorance Daulatrao permitted the letter to occupy full control of the political situation. The Shenvis as Jivba Dada, Jagu Bapu, Lakhba Dada, Baloba Tatya Pagnis and Sadashiv Malhar were openly favoured. Aba Chitnis left his assignment out of despair. He appointed Lakhba Dada and Jagu Bapu as the supreme commanders in Northern India a removing Gopal Bhau from the Supreme Commend of the north Indian forces. Baloba Pagnis and Sadashiv

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1. Calendar of Persian Correspondance, Vol. XI, No. 1190 says that "the King has conferred on Daulat Rao Sindia the titles and rank which were held by Mahadji Sindia", Nos. 189, 227, 231, 233, 253, 259, 261, 294, 327, 348, 415; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, Nos. 207, PP. 318, 359; Itihasa Sangraha, Junya Aitihasik Goshthi, D.B. Parasnis, Vol. 6, January, 1909, P. 3

Malhar were appointed Mukhtyars. De Boigne opposed change made by Daulatrao in removing Gopal Bhau from the chief command of north Indian forces because he had sincerely performed his duties but Daulatrao turned a deaf ear to his sane counsels.[1]

Shah Nizamuddin, who was looking after the Emperor, also felt the change of Maratha leadership in North India. He told Hingne on 14th September 1794 that "under the present multiple leadership of Sardars, administration has been difficult. The English, Rohillas and other enemies are awaiting to enter the field Ruining the Empire will bring down the high prestige of Sindia.[2] In June 1796, he was also removed and Jaswant Rao Sindia, a great grandson of Mahadji took the change of his office.[3]

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Jadunath Sarkar, Orient Longman's Ist edition, Calcutta, 1972, Vol. 4, pp. 143-145; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 409; *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. IX, ed. V.V. Khare, P. 4814; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Nos. 243, 238.

2. *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarnen*, Vol. 2, No. 130; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, pp. 409-410.

3. *English Records of Maratha History*, Vol. 8, entitled Daulat Rao Sindia and North Indian Affairs, 1794-1800, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Bombay 1943; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 29; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8. P. 410.

In November 1794, Lakhwa Dada and Jagu Bapu became the victorys of Daulat Rao Sindia in Northern India. Lakhwa Dada found it very difficult to conduct the administration in the north. < With full authority.[1] Palmer wrote a report from Maratha camp at Mathura on 6th April 1795 which indicated weakness of the Maratha administration in north India: "The officers who have lately succeeded to the administration of the Maratha affairs in Hindustan found them in a state of very alarming disorder, the revenues grossly mismanaged or embezzled and the collections so reduced as to be very inadequate to the expenses of Government. The Deccan troops and Hindustani irregulars, mutinous and disaffected for want of pay, and with difficulty restrained from the greatest outrages by the corps under M.De Boigne, the tributory Rajas retaining their respective contributions and preparing to resist the future exactions of them; the Sikhs ready to invade and ravage the Western provinces .... The Maratha State ..... in Hindustan.... is but ill qualified for permanent conquest or evil administration, however formidable may be the means which it possesses of ravage and devastation. The whole country under its subjection from the chambal to the Ganges is in the most miserable state of neglect and disorder, the lands deserted and the cultivation so scanty as scarcely to supply subsistence to the remaining inhabitants, the roads infested with numerous bands of robbers ..... particularly in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where they are so formidable as to set the forces of the Government at defiance and to menace even the city itself".[1]

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[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, pp. 145-146

Instability unrest and disorganised Maratha affairs in north India prompted the Rajputs to cast off the Maratha control. The Rajas of Jaipur and Kota tried to cultivate friendship with the British so as to oppose the Marathas but they failed.[2] The threatened invasion of Zaman Shah Abdali in 1795 and 1796 also created great constarvation with the Marathas, Rajputs, Sikhs and the British but nothing concrete happened as to this danger. Still in case of the probability of this invasion of India proving true Palmer thought to enter into a defensive alliance with the Marathas.[3] But Shore did not like that the company should make an alliance with the Marathas because he considered the

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1. English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VIII, No. 11, PP. 33-35; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, pp. 146-147.

2. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 410.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VIII, Nos.53, 55, 58, 61, 207; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 148-149.

invasion of Abdali as a distant and far-fetched probability Shore believed that Abdali could not think of re-establishing the family of Shah Alam on the throne without defeating the Sikhs. So he was not in favour of making any defensive alliance to meet the danger.[1]

In 1793 Lord Wellesley became the Governor-General and there were many drastic changes in the British policy of non-interference. Zaman Shah sent a letter to the Governor-General asking for the help of the British and Nawab Vazir of Oudh to restore Shah Alam to the Delhi throne relieving him from the Maratha control and to expel the Marathas from the North-West frontier of India.[2] The Governor-General did not want to leave it to chance. Dundas also wished that Daulat Rao Sindia who was involved in Poona politics the atime, should be asked to come back to North India.[3] The invasion of Zaman Shah never came off but it perflexed and overwhelmed the Company, the Marathas and the Sikhs with anxiety.[1]

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[1] *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, 25 January 1797, No. 1; *The History and Culture of the India People*, Vol. 8, PP. 411-412; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 207.

[2] *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 69.

[3] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, pp. 412-413; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 80, 82, 86, 111.

Lakhwa Dada who was the new Maratha viceroy in North India found his assignment very tough because of the disturbed condition of the country andthe growing jealousy among the generals of Sindia. He could not expect any help from Poona or from his master Daulat Rao Sindia because all of them were too involved in Poona politics following upon the death of Peshwa Sawai Madho Rao on 27th October 1795.[2] During his viceroyalty Lakhwa Dada captured the fort of Sabalgarh in the Karuli State in August 1795[3] and the town of Narwar in October 1795. In June 1796 he attacked Datia where the Bundela Raja opposed the Marathas for many years.[4]

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 148-149, says that during every winter from 1795 to 1798-1799 the Maratha generals in north India remained on the defensive. They made appeals to the English for a defensive coalition but the British gave a very mild response to these Maratha proposals.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, Nos. 271, 276, 285; Vol. XI, Nos. 1536, 1537, 1597 tell about the death of Peshwa; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 146-148.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, No. 22.

4. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, Nos. 24, 26, 30.

Lalhwa Dada did not remain in his office even for complete two years and he was removed from his office after a revolution in his master's court in Poona. The fall of Lakhba Dada gave a fatal blow to the prestige of Sindia in Hindustan.[1]

Daulat Rao Sindia had a depleted treasury and was hard-pressed for money at Poona. His minister Baloba Tatya could not provide him necessary funds so he arrested Baloba Jatya and Bhau Bakhshi on 26th October, 1796. Baloba Jatya was the patron of Lakhba Dada and a supporter in Sindia's council. The news of the arrest of Baloba reached the camp of Lakhwa on 6th November together with the orders for his own arrest. Lakhba Dada went to Gopalgarh to lead a retired and peaceful life.[2]

Daulatrao Sindia sent letters to Lakhwa Dada to resume his command because Zaman Shah had reached Peshwa and was expected to march upon Lahore and Delhi in December 1796. Zaman Shah visited Peshwa and in 1797 and 1798 captured Lahore itself. Daulat Rao requested Lakhwa Dada to stand ly to face the impending danger. But Lakhba Dada

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, P. 149.
2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, Nos. 46, 45, 44, 216; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 150-151.

remained aloof and during his absence Jagu Bapu exercised the Supreme power in Hindustan.[1] Again in the next year Zaman Shah captured Lahore on 3rd November 1797 and R Rajput Rajas were impatiently planning to do away with the Maratha control and expel Ambaji Ingle so Daulat Rao left alarmed and directed General Perron and other officers commanding the trained corps to consider themselves under the orders of Jagu Bapur and Lakhba Dada. He ordered Jagu Bapu and Lakhba Dada to march to Mewar and Jodhpur.[2]

As soon as the danger of Abdali's attack vanished Daulat Rao Sindia under the influence of Sharza, Rao Ghatge whose daughter Baizabai had been married to Sindia and who had become most powerful in the court of Daulat Rao, inflicted a reign of terror in Poona in February 1798 for making forced collections of money and taking personal vengeance.[3]

All the instance of Sharza Rao, Daulat Rao Sindia wrote to Lakhba Dada and Ambaji Ingle to reach Poona to

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 151; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, Nos. 55,58.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 151-152.

3. Foreign Political Department, 9th July, 1798, No.33; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. IV, P. 152; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, PP. 414-515.

squeeze money from them which they were supposed to have collected during their viceroyalty in Hindustan but Lakhwa Dada did not obey the order. Lakhba Dada and Jagu Bapu moved towards Bhopal where their help was sought in a succession dispute but they were arrested near Sagar by Harji Sindia on March 10, 1798. The charge of the northern affairs was given to Ambaji Ingle by Daulat Rao Sindia. Gopal Bhau was kept in Sindia's confidence and Narayan Bakhshi was arrested.[1]

This attitude of Daulat Rao created further problems for the Marathas. He provoked the anger of Mahadji's widows - Bhagirathi Bai, Yamuna Bai and Laxmi Bai by refusing to provide them with adequate maintenance allowances as he had promised before his adoption. On 15th May 1798 Sharza Rao misbehaved with the widows of Mahadji Sindia who had revolted against Daulat Rao. After their defeat in a battle at Bhamburda on 25th June, the widows went to the South Maratha country and collected armed help there and appealed to the army in North India to support their cause.[2] This created further confusion in

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[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 152; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.8, PP. 414-415; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.8, Nos. 216, 217.

[2] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 152-153.

Sindia's administration in North India as well as in the South. The disolution of the Maratha administration seemed to be accelerating.[1] On 27th May 1798 Bradshaw reported, "In his Northerndominious dislike to his government prevails thick and I have reason to believe that Maharatta supremacy is equally abnoxious to both Hindu and Mussulman".[2]

In the meantime Jagu Bapu escaped from confinement on 5th August 1798 and after three days Lakhba Dada was released. They supported the widows' cause and occupied the city of Ujjain on 15th September but after three months Ambaji's brother Balarao Ingle re-occupied the city.[3] In January 1799 Lakhba Dada started his compaign in Malwa. He collected tribute from the towns and plundered the villages in the dominion of Daulatrao.[4] In the beginning of April Lakhba Dada went to Mewar and attacked

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, Nos. 74, 75.
2. Foreign Political Consultations, 9 July 1798, No. 112; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, PP. 415-416.
3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, Nos. 76, 77, 79; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 153.
4. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.8, Nos. 77, 123; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 154.

Hamirgarh.[1]

In utter confusion Daulatrao sought reconciliation with Lakhba Dada and the widows and released Baloba Jatya from confinement.[2] The rise and progress of Yashwant Rao Holkar and Lakhba Dada's alliance with him against Daulat Rao also made the latter nervous. Daulatrao Sindia once again appointed Lakhba Dada as his viceroy in Hindustan.[3] But Ambaji was not ready to leave his viceroyalty over Mewar. The territory which he held on behalf of Sindia covered the region from Ajmer to Gohad including the forts of Gwalior and Narwar, yielding a tribute of one crore of rupees.[4] In September 1799 Daulat Rao stripped Ambaji of his authority over Mewar and appointed Lakhba Dada and Jagu Bapu as his deputies in Hindustan to win their support.[5] A peaceful agreement was made between Lakhba Dada and Perron at Muzzamabad on 27th October on the following terms:

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 155; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 416.

2. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, ed. V.V. Khare, Vol. XI, No. 4860; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.4, PP.155-156; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, No. 156.

3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 155-156; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 416; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, No.171.

4. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8 P. 416; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, No.171.

5. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, No. 171; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 156.

1. "Lakhba Dada was acknowledged by all parties to be Sindhia's deputy in Hindustan and the detachment of Perron's army commanded by Sutherland was to remain under Lakhba's order.

2. Perron was to retain possession of the forts of Delhi, Agra and Aligarh until Daulatrao's final decision on this point be known.

3. Ambaji Ingle was to remain in undisputed possession of Gwalior and all other districts which he held formerly, but give up Mewar and every pargana taken from the party of widows"[1].

Ambaji finally accepted his defeat. Lakhba Dada compelled him to make peace with Datia Raja on the following terms: "The Raja would pay one lakh immediately to Ambaji's army and cede districts yielding a revenue of four lakhs of rupees. In return Ambaji would raise the seige of Seondha and withdraw from the territory of Datia as soon as the above terms were filfilled[2]. Collins, the Britis ambassador with Daulat Rao noticed all these symptoms of danger and reported to the Governor-General on 22nd July

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1. *Poona Residence Correspondence*, Vol. 8, Nos. 185, 185; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 417; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, P. 157.

2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, No. 198; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, P. 158.

1799. "Unless Sindia should effect a cordial relation with the Bais, by which event he would be enabled to return to Hindustan, his possessions in this quarter can never be restored to transquillity, the Government thereof being contested by two chieftains, each of whom seems determined on supporting his own authority, though both must be sensible that the consequences of their dissensions can not but be ruinous to the interests of their master"[1].

During the second term of the viceroyalty of Lakhba Dada starting in November 1799 peace and order rigned in the north India dominions of Sindia. The widows were temporarily pacified and Yashwant Rao Holkar's mischievons activities were stooped for time being. With the appointment of Baloba Jatya as the Diwan of Sindia, the position of Lakhba Dada improved and he ruled over north India with vigour, quelled the disturbances and restored peace[2].

During the first four months of 1800 A.D. Lakhba Dada conducted a successful compaign in Rajputana. Daulat Rao Sindia was afraid that the death of Nana Padnis at Poona on 12th March, 1800 would involve him in serious

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, No. 158, P. 197; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 419.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. IX, P. VIII; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 158; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 417.

disputes with the new ministers of the Peshwa. So he sent orders to his officers in northern India to refrain from attacking any of his tributaries there but they did not take any notice of it.[1] In May 1800 orders were issued for the arrest of Lakhba Dada. In 1800 Ambaji Ingle was again appointed the victory of Sindia in Hindustan[2] and was ordered to cooperate with perron and make concerted moves in any ventures in that region.[3]

With the arrival of Lord Wellesley in India in May 1798 to take the charge of the company's government as its Governor-General, Nana Phadnis spoke of his premonitious as to the imminent dangers and expressed his anguise about the fate of the Maratha State in these words: "Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny".[4] Tipu Sultan had given a warning to Hari Pant

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1. History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 416; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8 No. 171.

2. Poona Residency Coorespondence, Vol. 2, No. 171; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 156.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 8, Nos. 185, 184; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 417, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 157.

4. Quoted in New History ofthe Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 354; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 486.

Phadke: "You must realize that I am not at all your enemy. Your real enemy is the Englishman of whom you must beware".[1] Nana Phadnis had given a warning to the Peshwa in the words: "Tipu is finished, the British power has increased, the whold of east India is already theirs. Poona will be next victim".[2]

There is no doubt that the first problem of Lord Wellesley was Tipu, the Tiger of Mysore but he was simultaneously watching the matives and activities of the Marathas. In his various letters Lord Wellesley referred to the treachery, low-cunning, captions jealcusly and perverse policy of the Marathas'. His policy towards the Marathas was to treat the members of Maratha confederacy as independent powers and to entrap them in isolated engagements.[3] On the fifth day of his assuming the charge of office, Lord Wellesley told the Peshwa about the necessity of continuing friendly relations with the company and sent back the jewellery left by Reghunathrao with the British Government.[4] On 8th July 1798 Welleslay ordered Palmer, the

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[1] Qouted in The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 486.

[2] Quoted in New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 354.

[3] English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, entitled Poona Affairs' (1801-1810) Closes Embassy, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Bombay, 1940, No. 6.

[4] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, P. 533
New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 352

Resident at Poona, to enter into a treaty with the Peshwa to exclude the French from his army and to keep a strong force from Bombay with him on the condition that the Peshwa should make arrangement for the regular payment of troops.[1] The proposals of a secret treaty with the Peshwa were renewed in 1799, on 12th April, 1800 and on 30th November, 1801. Colonel Close established friendship with the Eurppean officers of Daulat Rao Sindia who pressed the Peshwa not to make any treaty with the English without his assent. Since Palmer failed in his attempt to persuade the Peshwa to accept British suzereignty, Lord Wellesley transferred him.[2]

In 1802, Lord Wellesley established his control on the Gaikward State where Anand Rao Gaikwad took the British financial and military help against his cousin, Malhar Rao Gaikwar and Arab merenaries. A treaty was concluded with Anand Rao Gaikward's diwan at Cambay and Malhar Rao Gaikwad was compelled to surrender.[3]

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 353-354; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marques Wellesley K.G., edited by Siduey J. Owen, Oxford 1877, PP. 48-49; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, No. 18.

2. A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 49-50, 261; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, Nos. 5,6.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, Nos. 10, 12, 13, 16, 17; History and Culture of the Indian Peonle, Vol. 8, P. 487.

Raghuji Bhosle I also showed his keenness to the British Resident at Nagpur to join in an alliance against Tipu and become a mediator between the Company and the Peshwa. But his conduct was not sincere during the course of negotiations so Colebrooke urged Wellesley to close the Residency of Nagpur.[1] All these developments clearly demonstrated that Lord Wellesley was contiously and vigorously making eleborate preparations and seeking pretexts to inflict a final and decisive below to the Maratha power with a view of smashing up their strength and denude them of their vast possessions in the North and the South.

The Maratha State had lost much of its solidarity and strength and was interwoven into a loose confederacy by self-indulgent Sardars. Emperor Shah Alam II as well as Chhatrapati of Satara were phantoms of their past glory and were figureheads. The Peshwa considered him as a costly appendage to the Maratha State. Chhatra Singh, brother of Shahu II expressed sharp reaction to the existing decline and morbid conditions afflicting the Maratha State. They wished to rid themselves of the control of the Peshwa and rebuild the Maratha State by bringing cohesion and unity of the several members of the State. In

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[1] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 487.

March 1798. they overpowered the managers of the Peshwa at Satara. Shivaji III, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, his minister Ratnakar Pant and the Sindia's widows made a common cause with Shahu II and Chhatra Singh. The united army of these powers defeated Madhavrao Raste, the Commander of the Peshwa on 16th June, 1798. Parashuram Bhau was sent by the Peshwa to retriene the situation,[1] but he was also defeated and killed in an encounter with the combined forces of Kolhapur and Chhatra Singh on 17th September, 1799.[2] His son with his three brothers besieged Kolhapur. The Peshwa and Sindia sent other forces for their help. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was defeated and was forced to take shelter at Panhala.[3] Lord Wellesley was watching these domestic hostilities and troubled state of affairs of the Maratha power with great interest and was calculating the chances of the company in a future conflict with the Marathas. He fully capitalised on the weaknesses, internecine struggles, lack of direction, divided counsels and inherent contradictions of the Maratha state.

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[1] Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. X, PP. 43-50; New History of the Maratha, Vol. 3, PP. 342-345; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 488.

[2] Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere, No. 467; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 345.

[3] New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 345-346 The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.8, PP. 345- 346.

A word may now be said about Poona affairs which jeopardised Maratha stability with North. The Peshwa Madhavrao II never visited the scene of Mahadji Sindia's activities in North India.[1] The young Peshwa died of an accident on 27th October 1795[2] and his death was followed by confusion and disorder in Poona.[3] The death of the Peshwa affected the Maratha administration in Hindustan also because Daulat Rao Sindia was detained in the Deccan with huge forces of northern India.[4]

According to Sardesai, "The death of Madhavrao II immediately let loose allthe evil forces inherent in the Maratha Character, destroying the unity and cohesion and hastening the final ruin of the state in less than a quarter of a century.[5] After the death of Peshwa a dreadful struggle for power began which consumed precious time before a successor could be appointed to occupy the Peshwa's seta at Poona.[6]

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1. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, P. 282
2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Nos. 263, 271; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, PP. 304-307.
3. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, P. 134
4. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 2, No. 271
5. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, P. 313
6. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, P. 313

Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa, sons of Raghunath rao and his adopted son Amrit Rao were the only surviving direct members of the Peshwa family. They were in confinement at Junnar and were full of hatred towards Nana Phadnis.[1] Parashuram Bhau forced the late Peshwa's widow to adopt Chimnaji Apa as her son and on 2nd June 1796 the robes of Peshwaship were invested on him and Bajirao was made a prisoner in the camp of Daulatrao.[2] In March 1796, Nana Phadnis took to flight from Poona.[3] Chimnaji Apa was also removed from the Peshwaship and was put into confinement. Finally Baji Rao II was proclaimed as Peshwa at the age of twenty one on December 6, 1796 by Nana Phadnis with the consent of Sindia Holkar, Bhosle and the Nizam Nana Phadnis again became the supreme executive head of the government.[4]

But the influence of Nana Phadnis ended and threre was no consistency in the Maratha counsels. Malet wrote

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1. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 313; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, P. 134.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 135; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, Nos. 263, 300 302, 303; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 317.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, P. 418; Fall of the Mughal Empire. Vol. 4, P. 137

4. Fall ofthe Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP.136-137; The Hisory and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P.488; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, No. 341; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 323-324.

that there was "a wildness of spirit, prompted by the boundlessness of ancient and recent pretensions not containable within the limits of good order and good neighbourhood"[1].

The Peshwa Baji Rao II did not possess the capability to stop the decay and dissolution of the Maratha state which had already started before his accession. The Peshwa was jealous of Nana Phadnis and was, on the other hand, hard pressed by Daulat Rao Sindia for money. Nana Phadnis, Baloba Tatya, the chief minister of Sindia and Parashuram Bhau were all supporters of Amrit Rao, the rival brother of Baji Rao II.[2] Baji rao II did not allow Sindia to go to Hindustan or even to withdraw his armed guards for his own palace. Nana Phadnis offered a huge sum to Daulatrao to leave Poona and Baji Rao II also promised two crores to Sindia to save him from Nana's hands.[3] On 31st December, 1797 Nana Phadnis was arrested by an officer of Sindia and was sent to Ahmadnagar as a prisoner.[4] Daulatrao

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2, No. 175, P. 282; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 489.

2. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8 P. 489; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 327-329; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, p. 142

3. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 332.

4. New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 333-335; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 140

Sindia employed his father-in-law Sharza Rao to collect money from Poona because his soldiers were clamouring for the payment of arrears. Sharza Rao created a reign of terror in Poona.[1] People started supporting Nana and Daulat Rao Sindia had to release him on 15th July, 1798. The Peshwa gave formal leave to Sindia on 17th January 1799.[2]

During the last phase of his administration from 1798 to 1800, Nana Phadnis ruined the Maratha national interests by his self absorption and self-seeking pursuits and lack of for-sighted statesmanship and vision. On his death in 1800 A.D. Daulat Rao Sindia looked after the administration of the Peshwa but it did not effect any change. The soldiers of Sindia mutinied because of non-payment of their salaries. There was a dispute between the Peshwa and Sindia over the possession of the treasures of Nana Phadnis Sindia kept a guard on Peshwa's palacefearing under apprehension that he would like to take flight from Poona. Bajirao II adopted the policy of making Sindia and

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1. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 489; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.4 P. 140.

2. New History of the Marathas , Vol. 3, P. 341; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 141.

Holkar dependent on the Poona Government by encouraging their conflicts in Malwa.[1] The Maratha State was quickly h heading towards the crisis of 1802.

The Affairs of Daulat Rao Sindia, who succeeded Mahadji Sindia on 10th May, 1794 and possessed eastern Malwa, the region west of the Jamuna and the upper Ganga-Jamuna Daob, were far from being satisfactory.[2] There was a resentment among the people against Sharza Rao, the father-in-law of Sindia, due to his ill treatment of the widows of Mahadji Sindia.[3] The Shenvi party under Lakhba Dada, Narayanrao Bakshi, Devji Gauli, Rayaji Patil and Ramaji Patil joined the widows cause and a civil war known as Widow's war ensued from 1798 to 1802 against Daulat Rao and Sharza Rao.[4]

The territories of South Western part of Malwa were under Holkars. Tukoji Holkar ruled them from 1795 to 1797. There were disturbances in the Holkar's state

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 141-142

2. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 490.

3. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, P. 132-153

4. *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. 3, PP. 337 - 342
Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 164.

after the death of Ahilya Bai in 1795. Tukoji Holkar also died on August 15, 1797 at Poona and he left four sons. Kashirao, Malharrao, Vithoji and Yashwant Rao, the youngest.[1] Kashi Rao sought the support of Daulat Rao Sindia against Malhar Rao and was raised to the position of Tukoji's successor. Malhar Rao was killed in a surprise attack on 14th September 1797.[2] With the result Yashwant Rao also attempted to oppose the plan of Daulat Rao Sindia to bring the House of Holkar under his vassalage. Yashwant Rao declared Khanderao Rao Holkar the son of Malhar Holkar II, as the legal head of the Holkar house and he himself became the regent and virtual power in the State.[3]

From Khamburda, Yashwatn rao and his faithful follower Bhawani Shankar escaped. In January 1799, Yashwantrao captured Maheshwar and papetrated plunders in Malwa. Sindia refused to release Khanderao who was put in the confinement in the Asirgarh fort. He declined to confirm the agreements which were made between Mahadji

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 138-139 Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 2 P. 382; Vol. 7, P. 30.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 139-140.

3. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, PP. 490-491; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 166-168.

Sindia and Tukoji Holkar. Sindia made ravages in the Holkar's villages of Malwa and Khandesh and collected tribute there.[1] Yashwanrao also plundered the possessions of Sindia in the north of Ujjain[2] and defeated an officer of Sindia on 25th June 1801 at Newari.[3] But another officer of Sindia defeated Yashwantrao on 4th July 1801 near Satwas.[4] Yashwantrao also captured the city of Ujjain on 13th July 1801.[5] But on 14th October 1801, Sharza Rao defeated Yashwantrao in a battle.[6] Yashwantrao still continued his campaign in Malwa, Khandesh and the Desh district of Maharashtra.[7]

When Yashwanrao was marching towards Deccan, the situation in Poona was not encouraging. All the ministers and well wishers in Maharashtra felt the urgent need to

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1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 165-166, 169-170.
2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 8, Nos. 144-166; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 168-170, 171-174.
3. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 180-181
4. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 181-182
5. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 183-186
6. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 186-189
7. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 190-192

establish peace between Sindia and Holkar who should compose their differences in view of Wellesley's policy of inflicting British Paramountcy over all the Indian States. They were asking Sindia and the Peshwa to bring about reconciliation with Yashwant Rao Holkar and to re-establish the solidarity and strength of the Maratha nation. But no reconciliation could be made between Sindia and Holkar.[1]

Baji Rao II plotted the cruel assassination of Vithoji, brother of Yashwantrao. When Vithoji led caused devastations in the estates of the Peshwa. Yashwantrao started preparations to avenge the death of his brother though astensibly he assured the Peshwa of his faithful services.[2] The Peshwa could not properly guage the strength of Yashwant Rao Holkar. On 8th October 1802, after an attack by the Holkar's forces under Fateh Singh Mane at Baramati, the forces of Sara Purandare, the commander of the Peshwa, fled away.[3] Yashwant rao got another victory over Sadashiv Bhaskar, the general of Sindia, in the plains of Hadapsar on 25th October, 1802. The Peshwa took to

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1. A Selections from the despatches treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, P. 212 ; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 194
2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 3, P. 195.
3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 195-206

flight from Poona.[1] On 27th October, 1802 he crossed the Western Ghats at midnight. He stayed for a month at Birwadi near Mahad and negotiated with the English for their help.[2]

The civil war in Maharastra was the the result of the weakness and the short-comings of the Peshwa and his feudatories. The victory of Yashwantrao at Hadapsar drove the Peshwa into the English hands.[3]

Yashwanrao took the general command of the troops at Poona after his victory and set up Amritrao Raghunath as Peshwa in place of Bajirao II.[4] The British Resident Colonel Close left Poona on 28th November and met the Peshwa at Bassein on 16th December and from the following day started discussions with the Peshwa about the terms of the treaty according to the orders of the Governor-General.[5]

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1. *A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 213-214; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 207-212.

2. *A Selections from the despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 213-214, P. 216.

3. *A Selection from the despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Welleslay*, P. 214.; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 215-216.

4. *A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 214, 216; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. 4, PP. 215-216

5. *A Selection from the despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, P. 215.; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 492.

The Peshwa finally signed an agreement which far surpassed the limits of his assessment in regard to the hiring of British forces for a limited purpose.[1]

The proposals made by the Peshwa on 25th October 1802 provided the basis for the treaty of Bassein which was made as the latest and most approved model of subsidiary alliances".[2] The Peshwa had signed it on the last day of the year and the Governor-General ratified it on March 18, 1803. The main terms of the treaty were as follows:-

1. The two contracting parties agree that the friends and the enemies of the one should be treated as the friends and the enemies of the other.
2. That the British should protect Bajirao's territory as their own.
3. For this purpose a subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry with the usual proportion of artillery, should be permanently stationed in Bajirao dominions.
4. For the expenses of this force Bajirao should code to the British, districts yielding 26 lacks of rupees a year.

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[1] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.8, P. 492.

[2] India Under Wellesley, P.E. Roberts, Gorakhpur Vidyalaya Prakashan, 1961, PP. 192-193; A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 220-221.

5. The Peshwa was not to entertain in his service any European hostile to the English.

6. In case of a dispute arising out with the Nizam, Bajirao should accept British arbitration.

7. Bajirao should also respect the treaty of friendship recently contracted by the Gaikwad with the English and accept British arbitration in case of a dispute.

8. The British and Bajirao should give each other more military help whenever necessary.

9. The Peshwa binds himself to engage in no hostilities with other States without a previous consultation with the British Government".[1]

The treaty of Bassein was something more than only a defensive alliance. A contemporary English traveller has written that. The treaty of Bassein has in fact annihilated the (Maratha) Empire".[2] Sidney J. Owen Writes that Previously there existed a British Empire in India;

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1. Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, PP. 7459 - 7468; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 384; India Under Wellesley, P.E. Roberts, PP. 192 - 193; A Selection from the despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 233 - 240.

2. Quoted in History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 493.

the treaty gave the company the Empire of India.[1] In fact the treaty of Bassein ended the Maratha independence and gave the company the "unquestionable supremacy over the Maratha State and by its direct and indirect operations gave the company the Empire of India. There is no doubt that by this treaty the Peshwa, who was the head of the Maratha confederacy was brought under the complete control of the Company and the company obtained a legal right to take steps for the Peshwa's authority.[2]

THE SECOND ANGLO MRATHA WAR

Colonel close wrote to Yashwant Rao Holkar about the agreement made by Bajirao with the British for armed protection. He further wrote that the Governor General wanted to effect a reconciliation between Bajirao and Yashwantrao, so he asked Yashwanrao to leave Poona immediately with his forces and to go to his sphere of jurisdiction, then only the Governor-General would get his grievances redressed by Bajirao, otherwise he urged that there was apprehension of their relations being broken off.[3]

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1. A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G. during the Government of India, ed. Sidney J. Owne, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1877, Introduction, P. XLVI

2. India Under Wellesley, PP. 193-194; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 493.

3. A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 221-233; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 385; Poona Residency Correspondency, Vol. 7, No. 39

During the new rule of Yashwantrao Holkar at Poona his financial difficulties became acute on account of enhancement in the bulk of his forces so he committed terrible miseries upon the city of Poona to collect money.[1] Yashwantrao terribly failed in his attempt to seat Vinayak Rao, son of Amrit Rao, in the place of Baji Rao II. He made efforts to organise a Maratha confederacy and wrote to the British Resident asking his help in making reconciliation with the Peshwa.[2] The negotiations of Yashwanrao with Sindia could not be successful.[3] On 25th February, 1803 Yashwantrao marched from Poona to Hyderabad and Ahmadnagar to collect the money to maintain his army and he left a small force under Harnath Singh at Poona.[4] On 20th April 1803, Amrit rao also went from Poona to Junnar.[5] On 13th May 1803 the Peshwa was brought to Poona and was formally

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1. *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. XIV, PP. 6534-6537; *A Selection from the despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 227-228.

2. *A Selection from the despatches, Treaties and other papers of Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 222-223, 227; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. X, PP. 62,75; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, P. 493

3. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. 7, P. 46; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, PP. 493-494;

4. *A Selection of Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley*, PP. 227-228; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. X, PP. 92-95; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8, p. 494.

5. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 8 P. 494.

restored to his throne as a British puppet.[1] Wellesley assured Amrit Rao of the British protection from the Peshwa and the other chiefs.[2]

Now Wellesley sent a message to Daulat Rao Sindia through Collins, the Resident at Sindia's Court, either to accept the terms of the Treaty of Bassein and take a decision upon terms of equality and acceptable to all parties or to be prepared for a war.[3] Wellesley knew that Daulat Rao was the only Maratha chief who possessed the potentialities to offer serious opposition to the British Wellesley wished to destroy the French party at the Court of Sindia. Daulat Rao and Raghuji Bhosle made all efforts to form a Maratha coalition. They asked Himmat Bahadur Gosain and Gani Beg in Bundelkhand to make preparations for a battle with the British. The Court of Baroda was also hatching a conspiracy against the British. The Nizam

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1. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, No. 67; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 261; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 494; India Under Wellesley, P. 209.

2. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 494.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, No. 70; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 263; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 494; India Under Wellesley, P. 209; A Selection from the despatches treaties and other Papers of Marquees Welseley, PP. 215, 225.

was also ready to join the confederates. Yashwantrao remained aloof. Daulat Rao released the infant Khanderao on the demand of Holkar and agreed to solve the disputes with him through the mediation of Raghuji Bhosle. Sindia also released Holkar's territory in Malwa which he had captured after his victory at Indore. But these negotiations between Sindia and Holkar were very slow. Lord Wellesley had made his own plans and on 7th August, 1803 he declared war. Yashtantrao showed no intention to join the Sindia and Bhosle. He went to Burhanpur and later on encamped at Bhikangaon.[1] Daulat Rao Sindia and Raghoji Bhosle were defeated by the British forces. Arthur Wellesley occupied Ahmadnagar on 12th August, 1803.[2] Stevenson fought skirmishes against the Pindaris at Jafarabad.[3] Arthur Wellesley badly defeated the confined forces of Sindia and Bhosle under the leadership of Gopal Rao Bhau and Vithal Pant in the battle of Assaye on 23rd September, 1803.[4]

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[1] India Under Wellesley, PP. 210-211; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, P. 494; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 263-265; Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 7, No. 85

[2] India Under Wellesley, P. 214; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 7, No. 91

[3] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 319-320

[4] A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 401-403; Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 321-332; Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha, Vol. XIV, Nos. 6734, 6749

Stevenson captured Burhanpur on 15th October, 1803 and Asirgarh on 21st October, 1803. The combined forces of Wellesley and Stevenson decisively defeated Bhosle at Argaon on 29th November, 1803. The also occupied Gawilgarh on 15th December, 1803.[1]

In northern India, Lake occupied Aligarh on September 5, 1803. Perron, the French adventurer, who was looking after the territory of Sindia in northern India had removed the best forces for from the expected place of attack.[2] On 11th September, 1803, Lake defeated Sindia's army under Louis Bourquien at Patpatganj near Delhi.[3] On 16th September 1803, he took custody of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.[4] Lake occupied Agra on October 18, 1803 after concluding a treaty with the Raja of Bharatpur.[5] The rest of the Sindia's forces were finally defeated

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1. India Under Wellesley, P. 218; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 332; A selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 408-410

2. India Under Wellesley, P. 225; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 282,288; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, P. 393

3. India Under Wellesley, P. 225; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 289-293; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 343-397

4. India Under Wellesley, P. 226; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 293-294.

5. India Under Wellesley, P. 227; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 294-297; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other papers of Marquess Wellesley, P. 393.

at Laswari on Ist November, 1803. The battle of Laswari brought about the total destruction of the power of Sindia as an independent ruler.[1]

The British forces remained successful in Gujrat, Bundelkhand and Orissa also. A number of other small chiefs like Rajput and Jat Princes, the Nawab of Doab, the Bundela chiefs, Himmat Bahadur and Shamsher Bahadur and Ambaji Ingle were deteched from Maratha allegiance.[2]

Thus by the end of 1803 Sindia and Bhosle were badly defeated Raghoji Bhosle realised his helplessness and signed the treaty of Deogaon on 17th December, 1803. The terms of the treaty were the following:

1. Raghoji Bhosle II ceded to the British government the province of Orissa with its whole coast including Balasore.
2. Raghuji Bhosle ceded to the British and the Nizam the whole of the territory and share of the revenues to the westward of the river Wardha and South of the

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire. Vol. 4, PP. 297-310; India Under Wellesley, P. 227; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 404-407.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 332-333; India Under Wellesley, PP. 228-230; A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley, PP. 393-394.

hills where stood Narnaulla and Gawilgarh. However he retained in his possession the two forts with districts below with a revenue of four lakhs.

3. Bhosle was to respect all the treaties concluded with his feudatories by the British Government.

4. The Bhosle Raja agreed to submit all his disputes with any other power, to British arbitration.

5. No British subject, European or American, was to be entertained by him without the consent of the British Government.

6. Raghuji renounced his adherence to the confederacy lately formed by him with Daulat Rao Sindia, and engaged himself not to assist any chiefs hostile to the English".[1]

Daulatrao Sindia also signed the treaty of Surji Anjangaon on 30th December, 1803 on the following terms:

1. "Sindia ceded to the East India Company and its allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab, and his rights and claims in the countries lying north ofthe Jaipur and Jodhpur kingdoms, and the Gohad Rana's territory.

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[1] A Selection from the despatches, treaties and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley, PP. 417-419; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 333-334; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8, PP. 496-497; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, P. 418; India Under Wellesley, PP. 218-219.

2. Sindhia ceded to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty the forts of Broach and Ahmadnagar and their dependent territory, and also the lands lying south of the Ajanta hills.

3. Sindhia renounced all claims of any kind in the above districts as well as claims of every description upon the British, the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Gaekwad.

4. [illegible] Asir, Burhanpur, Pavagarh and their dependencies were restored to Sindhia.

5. Sindhia confirmed all the treaties made by the British Government with his fendatories.

6. In his disputes with the Peshwa about their respective rights in Malwa and elsewhere; Sindhia agreed to abide by the decision of the East India Company.

7. Sindhia renounced all claims as to the person and the management of affairs of Emperor Shah Alam II and undertook to interfere no further in the affairs of His Majesty.

8. Sindhia engaged never to take or retain in his service any European or American or British Indian subject without the consent of the British".[1]

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[1] A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley, PP. 419-423; A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and neighbouring Countries, C.V. Aitchison, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1864, PP. 221-225; New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3, PP. 416-419; Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 334; The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. 8 P. 497; India Under Wellesley, PP. 219-220.

The treaty of Surji Anjangaon made the Emperor of Delhi a British subject. The blind Emperor Shah Alam placed himself under the British protection without any reservation and asked only for his defence and sustenance. After the treaty the Emperor was neither the suzerain of the English East India Company, nor an ally of the King of England and his equal in international status. The Emperor was "not even like one of the Vasaal princes who accepted British paramountcy and exercised internal sovereignty within well defined territorial limits, while their foreign relations were subject to British control".[1]

The treaty of Surji Anjangaon marked the real end of the Mughal Empire as a political institution.[2] It crippled the Maratha power and devided the Marathas of their vast Empire in the North. Thus it set at rest the aspirations of the Marathas to stablise their hold over the North.

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[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, PP. 334 - 337

[2] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, P. 337

The Causes of the Decline of the Marathas Power:

The Maratha policy in the north betrayed the inherent weaknesses and short comings of their political, military and administrative systems as well as the ephemeral nature of their power base in establishing an Empire without attending to the fundamental requirements of enforcing an efficient administrative machinery and boosting agriculture, industry and arts of peace to secure a permanent source of uninterrupted flow of money and riches to feed their exploits and supply the sinews of war. These lapses and short comings led to the stifling of the Maratha attainments and the catastrophe of 1761 and the ultimate loss of Empire and independence came as a natural outcome. It could have been averted if the Marathas would have won the confidence of the various north Indian powers, Muslim and non-Muslim, settled the country, befriended the local population and looked to the welfare of the peasantry. The association of the name 'Mahratta' with plunder, forcible exactions of tribute, levying of excessive demands in utter neglect of the other parties capacity to pay and ever-increasing Maratha claims though they filled the coffers of the Marathas with money, yet they alienated the feelings of cooperation and responsive sympathies among the North Indian Chiefs, nobles, zamindars and the peasantry. The word 'Marathas' became synonymous of a plunderer, a persecutor and they were styled as bargis. The protectors of Hindu religion, society and sponsors of Hindu ascendancy never spared even the Hindus of their oppressive exactions. The Rajput chiefs, the Jats, the Bundelas and others were disheartened. The defenders of the Mughal Empire looked to their own restricted interests only.

During the time of Balaji Vishwanath and the other Peshwas, the collection of chauth was an easy source to boost the fast expansion of the Marathas. The Marathas collected *chauth* in different parts of the Mughal Empire. Thus an unending conflict ensued between the Maratha Sardars trying to collect *chauth* and the Mughal *Subahdars* intent on checking them.

There was no unity and cohesion among the Maratha ministers and sardars and they fought against each other for personal gains and prestige. The conflicts between Nana Phadnis and the House of Sindia, between the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati of Satara and Kolhapur, between Sindhias and Holkars are some instances in this respect.

During the first phase of the Peshwaship of Balaji Bajirao, the Peshwa was controlled by the Chhatrapati to some extent who tried to keep control over the direction and policy of Maratha affairs and war movements. He never went himself for any military campaign but he did not allow his Peshwa to introduce any change in the main principles of state policy. He divided the work and the spheres of Maratha activities in the north and the south among the different ministers, generals and nobles to minimize the possibility of conflicts amongst them. The main aim was to bring under Maratha control or paramountry the whole of India. He wanted Maratha arms to reach beyond Attock either in alliance with or as an agent of the Mughal Empire. It was possible either by taking the governorship of different provinces from the Emperor and ruling them directly or accepting annual tributes in the form of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, leaving the administration in the hands of the officers of the Emperor but protecting them from foreign invasions. But this policy of the Marathas suffered from a number of drawbacks. This policy was half hearted, weak, and vacillating. It did not aim at or result in outright conquests and annexations. It shirked responsibilities. It was really the grabing of power without the assumption of responsibility. The outcome was that the Maratha policy lacked will, stability and coherance.

In regard to dissensions at home the policy of the Raja was directed towards non-intervention and letting things drift towards an impasse. This was manifest from his attitude towards the conflicts of Peshwa with the Sardars and of the Maratha Sardar's feuds interse particularly the controversies and disputes with and between Sindia and Holkar. The Raja did not allow the suppression of old ministers and Sardars at home even when they acted as traitors or rebelled against the State or entered into conspiracy with the enemies of the State or opposed the policies and plans of the Chief Minister during the wars. But the Poona Darbar followed the policy of maintaining its hold by encouraging this friction. The Sindia-Holkar rivalry disturbed the peace, created suspicions and internal dissensions and hampered the establishment of Maratha hegemony in the north.

Shahu's peace-loving nature is further exemplified by his refusal to concede an arrangement of the merger of Satara and Kolhapur States to take effect even after he was dead. He was not endowed with the vision and foresight which Shivaji possessed and could not forge the unity of the Maratha State and the centralization of its powers and administration.

There were two main centres for political activities of the Marathas in the north and the south. East and west had not acquired much importance to them.

The Maratha success in the north were mainly due to the Peshwa and his new generals. The most prominent amongst them were Sindhias, Holkars, Pawars and Jadhavs. In the South, east and west the other Maratha ministers like Pratinidhi and Sardars like Bhosles, Dabhades, Angrias had their own interests, influence and powers and these sphereas were marked as their fields of operations. The Peshwa could not completely direct and keep control over the politics there. Shahu also did not allow him to do so. Even then the Peshwa Bajirao and Balaji Bajirao checked the Nizams, the Sidis as well as some rebellious sardars and *jagirdars*, Dabhades, Gaikwads and Angrias in their conspiracies and aggressions against the Maratha state. The Marathas had no common will and policy, no united control and direction in military affairs and political administration and they could not build up a centrally directed and controlled Maratha State.[1]

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[1] *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagere*, No. 496; *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXI, entitled *Bajirao Peshwa and the events in the North, 1721-1761*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, Government Central Press, Bombay, No. 9; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, ed. K.V. Purandare, Poona, Shaka 1851; *Sel-ections From Peshwa Daftar*, New Series, Vol.I, entitled *Expansion of the Maratha Power (1707-1761)*, Governemt Central Press, Bombay, 1957, No. 63; *Hingne Daftar*, Vol.I, Intro. p.9.

The Maratha power was not a single, united entity of power. The aims, policies and interests of the Maratha ministers and Sardars were conflicting and overlapping. They fomented conspiracies and fought against one another. The Peshwa was unable to centralise the power of the Maratha State into one hand and could not direct the affairs to a common policy and a common plan.

The Peshwas lacked dominant will and potential military qualities, keen foresight and sound financial resources to support their plans and objectives. So their achievements did not prove lasting. They had not enough resources to pay off their debts and meet ever increasing military expenses because their wars and conquests did not effect any final result or settlement. They had to face the same problems and dangers again and again and the result was that the energy and resources of the Maratha state were exhausted. There is no doubt in the fact that they kept Swarajya or the Central part of the Maratha State independent or properly managed and its frontiers advancing and expanding but the new conquered territories were also to be consolidated and properly managed from the Centre and the Peshwa was unable to do so. His energy and resources were exhausted in undertaking external invasions and in the settlement of internal disputes.

During that period there were number of wars of succession, overthrow of settled governments and usurpations in different parts of the country. The defeated and disaffected parties solicided Maratha help.

In the territories lying North of Malwa the Marathas exhibited more interest in intervention and military succour with a view to grabing land, influence and money. They intermeddled in political affairs with the intention of making and unmaking the rulers of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab, Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the North. But in the Deccan and Karnatak provinces in the south they were more interested in capturing territory and making outright annexations as these regions fell within their power base.

But these successes of the Marathas were not lasting because their policy was half-hearted. They did not establish their own regular rule nor could they attain success in regular realisation of their claims to chauth and Sardeshmukhi or to large jagirs. Their attacks or acquisition of these territories did not effect any political adjustments of abiding nature or permanent financial sources.

Generally speaking the avowed Maratha policy comprehended the whole of India as one entity over which they sought to establish their supreme command and paramountcy but in actual execution of this policy their was glaring divurgence in treating different spheres of activity. The Marathas thought in terms of India as a whole and one. They adopted two types of policies for the North. The first was of conquest and annexation preceded by a demand for chauth as in Gujrat and Malwa and the other was of merely imposing chauth on invaded and conquered territories. So the Marathas could not achieve stability and permanent foothold in the areas of the expansion of the Maratha power in the North.[1]

The consequences of these expeditions launched by the Marathas were not impressive or specteculer, nor were they of any abiding or decisive nature in furthering the Maratha designs of establishing paramountry in Northern India. The Marathas had to carry on their depredations to exact chauth and the tributes stipulated with local or Imperial authorities. The Rajput princes too, who had welcomed the Marathas at the earlier stage to fight against the Mughal officers and to settle their internal disputes, had now been disgruntled and alienated due to self centred policies of the

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[1] The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VIII, pp. 174-175.

Marathas. The Maratha Sardars played a dubious game of siding with the opposite sides in the arena of conflicts and went on inceasing their financial demands there by entailing heavy pecuniary burden on the dwindling resources of the local chieftains or governors. They did little towards a final settlement, tranquillity or gearing out the administrative machinery of the regions. Their demands were swelling day by day and the policy pursued by them was vacillating and erratic.[1]

The result of the Maratha expeditions were meagre and not decisive enough to establish Maratha paramountcy anywhere in northern India. The Marathas had to fight constantly to realise their *chauth* and the tributes promised The Rajput Princes who had welcomed the Marathas to fight against the Mughals, had become hostile to them. Maratha Sardars supported opposite sides, increased their heavy demands constantly and did not settle any matter finally.

The Maratha state had lost much of its solidarity and strength andwas interwoven into a loose confederacy of

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1. *Selections From Peshwa Daftar*, Vol.II, No. 9; *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhnen*, Vol. VI, ed. V.K. Rajwade, Nos. 190,191,581; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.VIII, p. 177.

self indulgent Sardars. The Chhatrapati of Satara and the Mughal Emperor were phantoms of their past glory and mere figureheads in the politics of the country. They had no character, ability or strength and proved mere ghosts of their famous predecessors and ancestors, sitting on their throne like puppets. By the end of 18th century the Peshwa had also become the powerless head of the Maratha confederacy. The other members of the confederacy considered themselves as equals of the Peshwa. All the Sardars started considering themselves as independent rulers of their own principalities.

The main defect of the Maratha policy in north India was a constant change in their policy and allies. This created suspicion and distrust in the minds of all against them. They thus alienated the sympathy of Rajputs, the Jats, the Awadh Nawabs and the Rohillas. They had no real and constant allies to achieve their political objectives in the North.

The Maratha habits and character and their own equipment in men, money and resources and knowledge were not adequate for such a huge task in face of foreign military powers and internal selfish and aggrandising rulers and officers.

The military organisation of the Marathas was also ill organised,ill equipped and ill disciplined. According to some Maratha scholars the Marathas did not care to develop artillery as their main support of defence. They had the belief that artillery was not everything in war. The Maratha army was not homogenous in composition. The Marathas Sardars employed the Arabs, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Sindhias, the Rohillas, the Abbysinians, the Pathans and the Europeans in large numbers to strengthen their army. The Maratha chiefs were mistaken by entrusting the defence of their country to Foreigners.

The misgovernment and disorder prevalent under Daulat Rao Sindhia's French lieutnants with the resultant chaoes and incidence of voilence had worn out People's patience, estranged public opinion in Delhi and brought matters to a climax. Under such circumstances, the people should have welcomed any power that could relieve their distress and provide stable peace and order. So there is substance in the remark of Jadunath Sarkar that "General Lake paid his first visit to the Emperor in the afternoon of the 16th, marching in state amidst the jubilation of the populace of the capital."... "Such was the general feeling of the people of Delhi ... that the French party, after evacuating the city and the forts, found themselves under the necessity of soliciting British protection, from the effects of popular resetment.[1]"

In enumerated the factors of Maratha downfall Sardesai has over-emphasised the incompetence and 'incapacity of the two frivolous youths, Peshwa Bajirao II and Daulatrao Sindia who owing to a fortuitous coincidence, came into possession of supreme power in the Maratha state.[2] Personalities, no doubt, played their refarious part in the process of downfall yet social, economic, political, administrative and military factors were largely responsible for that catestrophe.

The neglect of the study of science, technology, military training and organisation and neglect of artillery was another potential factor in the process.

Lack of proper and efficient organisation or system in administration, military and armed forces, revenue realisations and related managements undermined the smooth working of the State system.

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1. Quoted in Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. 4, p.294.
2. Main Currents of Maratha History, p. 161.

Sardesai attributes "the false notion of religion" particularly from the days of Ramdeorao Yadav and his great minister Hemadri towards the end of the 13th century, the pursuits of superstitions, rigidity of caste restrictions profusion of religious rituals and practices prejudiced the pursuits of material interests of a progressive society and advancement of industrial arts, fine arts, literatures, mathematics, science, astronomy, sea-borne trade etc was hampered.[1]

The superiority of the British vis-a-vis the Marathas in diplomacy, artillery, tactics, patriotic sentiments, and profusion of details connected with campaigning, menoeuvring and arts of diplomacy, intell igence services and psycholo-gical training and understanding of the other people.

These are some of the causes which contributed to the decline and fall of the Maratha power in the North and ultimately to their loss of independence.

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[1] The Main Currents of Maratha History, pp. 170-71.

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